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PHILLIPS HALL BARTLET CHAPEL, OLD ANDOVER, BEFORE 1878 BARTLET HALL

HISTORY

OF

Andover Theological Seminary

BY HENRY K. ROWE

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TO

VAUGHAN DABNEY

PREFACE

THE various interests of mankind are served by social institutions which have arisen and have been sanctioned by society because they are valuable for the preservation and better ordering of the achievements of civilization. Among these are churches and schools. Ministers of colonial churches in America had been educated overseas or went to Harvard, Yale, and other colonial colleges. Late in the eighteenth century the time came when a distinctively theological school seemed preferable, and the Seminary was the answer to the need. Andover was the first such institution among the Congregationalists, the first in New England of any Christian denomination.

The eminence of Andover among American theological schools, the new departure which it is making in its affiliation with Newton, and the arrival of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Seminary, seem sufficient reason for this historical sketch. Andover alumni have been distinguished in the parish ministry, in home and foreign missions, in education and literature. Andover professors—Stuart, Phelps, Park, Smyth, Tucker, Harris, Thayer, Moore and Evans—have given the school an enviable reputation for scholarship.

In spite of hindrance, misfortune, even near tragedy, the old institution still lives, and by the faith that has sustained it faces the future with courage. The history of Andover Theological Seminary is a story worth the telling; may it be an inspiration to those who read it.

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE SEMINARY

HIGH up from a beetling cliff in the White Mountains of New Hampshire the Old Man of the Mountain thrusts his rugged profile, keeping ward over the Franconia valley. From a tarn at his foot a tiny stream begins to flow its fretted way through the forest until, grown larger, it emerges into the ampler reaches of the valley below. Increased in volume by tributary streams, it becomes the Merrimac. Even well down stream its way is hindered by rocks and ledges, and at length it is forced to leave its southward course and find an uncharted route in another direction. Yet unconquered it moves steadily towards its goal until it merges with the open sea.

Herein is a parable of Andover Seminary.

Old Andover stood on an ancient hill whose northern slope blends with the valley of the Merrimac. Its undergirding rock is older than the strata of the mountains where the river had its birth. On that rock New England Congregationalism fitly built its ecclesiastical foundation. As the Merrimac was born under the majesty of the Great Stone Face, the school at Andover was cradled under the stern sovereignty of Calvinism. As the stream is hindered on its way by rocks, so Andover has been buffeted by theological controversy. As the Merrimac found a new direction to the sea, so Andover Seminary after the career of a century changed its course, but not its goal.

Andover Seminary was built sturdily to breast the gales that beat against Puritan orthodoxy, as Brick Row on Andover Hill fronted the northern blasts that in winter sweep unchecked from the far Laurentian highlands of Canada. The halls of the Seminary were permeated by a theology as

cold and as irresistible. The sunset sky at times was reddened with a glow that was lurid enough to remind a student of the destiny of the damned. Coffins fashioned in the workshop by student hands were grim reminders of the brevity of life. The chapel bell rang its compelling summons to classes and funerals, with that "sweet, solemn solemnity" which was so tuneful to the ears of the elect, but boded only ill to those who were unregenerate. And hard by the winter snows drifted over the graves of students who had died before their time and lay in the winding sheet of God's Acre.

Andover was different in summer. Then her fields lay lush and green, and her elms drooped gracefully over the shaded campus. Students attended classes even in July, but there were walks and talks on the campus and about town, and the men rambled at times over the surrounding country. Classes were not dull to those who enjoyed logic and argument, and in summer bird song mingled with theological phrases and the scent of new-mown hay drifted through the open windows. On occasion classes were dismissed because a professor wanted the help of the students in getting in his crop of hay. Professors' families in time even went on picnics. Eventually Puritan rigor relaxed until the church sociable was invented, a pastime neither grave nor gay, but enjoyable to those who might not venture to break the taboos against lighter amusement. When the eminent Dr. Tholuck of Germany was calling upon Professor Park he remarked: "How do you get along without the opera and theatre?" And the reply was prompt: "You forget that we have the church and the sewing society." And there was always Commencement Day to anticipate and recall.

And the theology of Andover mellowed with the years.

In the lower valley the first settlers of Andover made their homes within fifteen years of the colonization of Boston. By 1644 land had been purchased from the Indians, scattered farms had been occupied, and a village had been started at the northern end of the town. There in the North Parish the first Congregational church was organized in 1645. By mid-century Andover people were making highways to

Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury. At times the town suffered materially from Indian raids down the Merrimac valley, but it was disturbed in mind even more by the witchcraft delusion, which resulted in the judicial murder of three persons. In the mental sanity of the eighteenth century they laid the foundations of Andover's educational reputation.

Among the best people of the community the Phillips family took first rank. Its ancestor was Reverend George Phillips, who went from Salem to Watertown in the earliest days of Massachusetts settlement. His son Samuel was minister of the Congregational church in Rowley for nearly half a century. Samuel's grandson and namesake settled over the South Parish in Andover in 1710. His son Samuel was prominent in Andover, and before he died he could write Honorable before his name. A second son, John, settled in Exeter, and became as respected as his brother. These two brothers founded and endowed Phillips Academy on Andover Hill in the year 1778. But it was the influence of Samuel's son, Samuel, Junior, which led them to establish the foundation. The young man was the only heir of his father and his uncle, but he was eager to sacrifice a part of his inheritance for the sake of a school, and it was he who had most to do with the establishment of the Academy. Later, as Judge Phillips, he was admired by his fellow-townsmen, and was honored by the Commonwealth with the office of Lieutenant Governor. He died at the age of fifty, but his widow and his son John continued to take an interest in education. It was they who became sponsors of Andover Theological Seminary.

The south village of Andover rises in a southerly direction to the crown of a hill. It was there that the Academy was located and there that the Seminary was to rise. Not a few of the hilltops of New England have been set apart as shrines of education or religion. Whether it seemed as if an aureole of divinity rested peculiarly upon the hills, or as if the expanding mind might reach out to distant horizons, the fathers chose the hills for their institutions. As altars smoked on the high places of ancient Palestine, so the shrine of Andover smoked at times with the fires of theological controversy, for the early

nineteenth century was an open season for polemics. But sacrifice and devotion sent up their invisible breath of the spirit to an unseen God, and the main purpose of the Seminary was constructive.

The Phillips family was loyal to religion as well as to education. The blood of the Puritan ran in their veins. They would preserve the best traditions of the fathers at a time when liberalism was threatening to weaken, or at least to change, those traditions. In their original deed of gift, commonly called the Constitution of Phillips Academy, they therefore provided that "whereas many of the students in this Seminary may be devoted to the sacred work of the gospel ministry," the school should teach the fundamentals of Christian theology, "as the age and capacities of the scholars will admit, not only to instruct and establish them in the truths of Christianity, but also early and diligently to inculcate in them the great and important Scripture doctrines of the existence of the one true God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; of the fall of man, the depravity of human nature; the necessity of an atonement, and our being renewed in the spirit of our minds; the doctrines of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; of sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and of justification by the free grace of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; together with the other important doctrines and duties of our Holy Christian Religion."

It was in the minds of the founders of the Academy to establish a chair of divinity in the school, and Dr. John Phillips of Exeter provided a scholarship fund of twenty thousand dollars "for the education of youth of genius and serious disposition in the Academy." In 1795 he left a legacy, giving one-third of his estate to Andover Academy to furnish aid to students who should study with a Calvinistic minister, until an instructor should be appointed in Andover or Exeter academies as a professor of divinity. It is easy to understand how such a man could be the grandfather of Phillips Brooks. To this fund William Phillips of Boston added four thousand dollars. On that foundation twelve students of divinity were

aided before the establishment of the Seminary, while they studied theology with Reverend Jonathan French, the minister of the South Parish.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the people of New England were taking a new interest in religion. The devotion to their Puritan faith, which was characteristic of the first generation of colonists, had yielded long since to the claims of everyday living. There had been extensive lands to develop, and many a pioneer in Maine and New Hampshire had helped to push back the New England frontier. Others had turned their energies to the promotion of industry and commerce, which promised more profit than the cultivation of a grudging soil. Religion held an honored place in the lives of the people, but it tended to be formal. They had had difficulty in satisfying the early requirements of church membership, and had lowered the standards of admission. The result was a lukewarmness regarding the claims of religion that boded ill for the continuing strength of Congregationalism. There was need of a revival of religious interest.

The Great Awakening came marching up the Connecticut valley a century after the beginnings of colonization. The beacon fires of a renewed faith blazed along the coast and from many an interior hilltop. At Northampton in Massachusetts, where Jonathan Edwards preached in the second most prominent pulpit in New England, a revival swept the community. Edwards lashed the consciences of his hearers with his fiery discourses, and George Whitefield staged a triumphal progress up the coast, and preached irresistibly to thousands of persons on Boston Common. But again distractions of various kinds intensified the natural reaction against religious excitement. The political excitement of the Revolutionary period, absorption in the repairing of damages of war, the interest in the experiment of making a federal government, and the economic problems that vexed the people, chilled religious enthusiasm. The blight of indifference was made worse by the skepticism of many persons. French infidelity was popular. Atheism was flaunted in the colleges. President Dwight of Yale found it expedient to go thoroughly

into the basic questions of theology in his lecture room. Then as the reaction against the Edwardean revival had led to indifference and even hostility, a reawakening of religious interest came as a reaction against the indifference and unbelief.

The Evangelical Reawakening, as it is called, began about the close of the eighteenth century. It produced no conspicuous evangelist. Local preachers kindled the feelings of their people. Revivals flamed out like beacon lights of the gospel from hill town to hill town in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The beginnings of the movement had come even earlier in the Middle States, and it penetrated to the newer settlements of the Southwest. On that frontier the camp meetings produced emotional excitement similar to that of the Great Awakening, but in New England the movement was saner and more permanent. It continued intermittently for several decades, swelling from time to time to increasing volume and then subsiding only to rise again.

The effects of the religious revival appeared in evangelism, missionary activity at home and abroad, and increased interest in Christian education. Pastors of churches preached with new fervor and visited neighboring communities with evangelistic intent. Societies were formed for the purpose of sending out preachers to the expanding frontiers. It was a time for the planting of academies and colleges. They soon dotted the landscape of New England, and accompanied the new churches along the expanding frontier.

It was in this stirring period that Andover Seminary had its birth.

Among the Congregationalists three schools of religious thought disputed the field. The first was known as the Old or Moderate Calvinists. Inheriting the theological convictions of their Puritan ancestors, they adhered to the Westminster Confession of the Presbyterians as their standard of doctrine. Except with regard to the right wing of Strict Calvinists, time had softened somewhat the ancient rigor. They believed in the untrammeled will of God, the inherited depravity of man and his helplessness because of the imputation of Adam's sin,

and the grace of God as the sole means of salvation. But they thought it advisable to use such means of grace as the church provided in its worship and ordinances, even though they would not avail if the persons themselves were not among the number of God's elect. Baptism or the Lord's Supper might make them more easily salvable if the Spirit of God should come their way. A man hoped that thus the mercy of God would make his calling and election sure.

A second group was called Hopkinsians from their doctrinal spokesman, Samuel Hopkins, a pupil of Jonathan Edwards in theology. Edwards, besides being an evangelistic preacher, was a profound thinker on the problems of the divine will and human salvation. If his sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" stirred the consciences of his hearers, his theological arguments appealed to the reason of his readers and made him the exponent of New England theology. Himself a graduate of Yale, he put his stamp on a whole generation of Yale divinity students. Samuel Hopkins was his understudy, and others took his interpretations of Calvinism as superior to the theories of the Old Calvinists. To a layman of these days the distinctions of that time seem of small account, but the ministers regarded them as supremely important.

Both parties accepted the Westminster standards for substance of doctrine, but the Hopkinsians stressed certain principles to an extreme. Their pulpits reverberated sonorously with the echoes of divine sovereignty and predestination, of foreknowledge and election, of total depravity and reprobation and eternal retribution, but they had improved explanations of their own as to how the divine and human minds worked. Particularly did they explain the difference between a natural will which man possesses and which makes him capable of exposing himself to divine influences, and a moral will which must be energized by the Spirit of God before the soul can make its way into His presence. The Hopkinsians condemned specific means of grace as sinful, because such means were used for selfish spiritual gain, whereas the true attitude was one of disinterested benevolence, like that of God

Himself, and unconditional surrender to the sovereign will of God. As sweet a saint as Mrs. Jonathan Edwards had brought herself to the state of mind where she was able to say that she was willing to be damned if God could be glorified thereby. Because the Hopkinsians emphasized the eternal decrees of a sovereign God, they were dubbed hyper-Calvinists; but because they made so much of the divine benevolence, they were suspected of being Arminian, which was another way of saying that they were heretics in the eyes of the orthodox Puritans. They liked to speak of themselves as Consistent Calvinists.

The Old Calvinists included many of the people of high social position, and their clergy were highly respected men. They were most numerous in the eastern part of New England. They were not in sympathy with revivals as among the means of grace. The Hopkinsians on the contrary were sympathetic with the revival, or New Light, Movement. They were vigorous in their convictions and unyielding in their debates. Their strength centered at Yale College, and they numbered a majority of the Congregational ministers in Connecticut and western Massachusetts. Hopkinsianism was proud of its designation as the New England theology.

A third party in Congregational circles was more liberal in its theological interpretations. It had found its inspiration in Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, who had protested against the extravagances of eighteenth century revivalism. It cherished a belief that God was not so unapproachable as the Calvinists maintained, nor so implacable in His attitude towards the human creatures whom He has made. The thoughtful men who represented the Liberals put less stress on the necessity of an atonement for men through Christ and more on human righteousness as a recommendation of the soul to God. They were few in number at first and with few exceptions lived under the shadow of Beacon Hill or nearby, but as the nineteenth century advanced, they were conscious of an access of strength, and their representatives became more outspoken in the village pulpits of Greater Boston. A few of them were avowed Unitarians. When

Reverend Henry Ware of Hingham was elected to the Hollis professorship of divinity at Harvard College in 1805, New England Congregationalism felt the shock, for it was well understood that Ware was really a Unitarian, and that at Cambridge his influence would be radical. It was altogether likely that such an event occurring at the heart of Puritan tradition would set in motion a desire for a more orthodox training center for the ministry in Massachusetts.

The main purpose of New England Congregationalists in founding Harvard and Yale had been to educate colonial ministers. There they were wont to absorb divinity as a part of their college education. If students could not have the advantages of Oxford and Cambridge in Old England, they could at least imitate the discipline. Harvard had felt liberalizing influences, but as staunch a Christian as Thomas Hollis, the London Baptist, had chosen Harvard for his munificence in endowing a chair of divinity. His generosity showed his confidence in the essential orthodoxy of the college, though the Hollis professor was required to take a specific pledge scarcely less stringent than the one adopted for Andover. But the tendency of the period was to introduce other studies in place of the older discipline, as science and modern literature became more popular in learned circles than Hebrew and Greek. Theology lost its position as queen of the sciences. The Hollis professor continued to give two courses for those who planned a ministerial career, but French might be substituted for Hebrew, an ill omen, when one recalls the skeptical and revolutionary character of the literature of contemporary France. Specific study in divinity became advisable after graduation from college, and it became customary for students to ask a prominent minister for the privilege of living in his home, reading under his direction, and enjoying the practical advantages that his parish supplied. Reverend Joseph Bellamy in his parish at Bethlem, Connecticut, indoctrinated many a youth in the New Divinity of Hopkinsianism, and Reverend Nathaniel Emmons in Franklin, Massachusetts, taught nearly one hundred such students. The method had the advantage of personal contact and parish experience, and, not least valu-

able, it gave opportunity for intensive cultivation of the acquaintance of ministers' daughters, which partly explains why so many of them married ministers. But the doctrinal stamp of a single man tended to narrow the outlook of the student, and the method was criticised as lacking systematic instruction in biblical exegesis and ecclesiastical history.

These were among the circumstances that favored the thought of a theological seminary. The idea fermented in several minds about the same time. Reverend Jonathan French, who was the instructor of certain students in divinity in the Academy, made a suggestion for a seminary as early as the foundation of the Academy. In a letter to Nathaniel Niles of Vermont, expressing the wish for a theological seminary, he said: "The students should be such only as have been graduated at some college, or are otherwise qualified to enter upon the study of divinity; should tarry three years at the Academy and be boarded in common. None should be allowed to enter but persons of sobriety and good morals. The president should be the first in the land for good principles, learning, and piety, if to be had; the best of libraries for the purpose be procured, and a whole course of divinity be studied, and everything practicable that may assist to qualify young gentlemen for the work of the ministry be taught."

Dr. Eliphalet Pearson was disturbed gravely by the liberal trend at Harvard. Pearson was one of the outstanding men of the time in educational circles. He had been the first principal of Phillips Academy and had established its reputation, and after eight years he had been elected to a professorship at Harvard. There he served with such acceptance that Leonard Woods could say of him: "No other officer in the college had equal influence in promoting improvement in literature, and the higher interest of morality and piety." When President Willard died in 1804 Pearson was acting president for over a year, and presumably he hoped to be elected Willard's successor. He was one of the five members of the Board of Fellows, and, with Jedediah Morse of Charlestown, he opposed the appointment of a Unitarian to the Hollis professorship of divinity. When he failed to stem the tide of liberalism

in 1805, and then when Professor Webber was chosen president the next year, Pearson resigned his office and went back to Andover, convinced that something needed to be done to defend orthodoxy. The Academy, of which he was a trustee, cordially welcomed his return and gave him a year's rental of a new house nearby. Then he began to plan for the establishment of a theological institution "which should maintain the doctrines of the fathers of New England against the threatening apostasies of the times."

Dr. Pearson interested Andover residents in his plans. Among these residents was Samuel Abbot. He was an Andover citizen who had made money in a mercantile business in Boston. He shared his wealth with Harvard students and with ministers, and planned to make a generous bequest to Harvard. But his concern over orthodoxy made him transfer his interest to Andover and a possible theological center there. He was a trustee of the Academy, and so active did he become in the counsels of the time that Pearson, French, and Samuel Farrar were spoken of as his privy council. It was these men who wrote the constitution of the original Foundation, and so wisely did they outline the functions of each department that little change was necessary in subsequent decades. The Phillips family kept its interest in theological education, and Madam Phillips, the widow of Judge Phillips, and her son John readily agreed to make the plan concrete by providing accommodations for sixty theological students in a new building, which should include also a lecture hall and a library.

While these initial steps were being taken at Andover, the Hopkinsians were cherishing a similar purpose. Their leader was Dr. Samuel Spring, minister at Newburyport. He had been a pupil of both Hopkins and Bellamy, and had been a recognized leader in eastern Massachusetts for forty years. Leonard Woods, a young minister at West Newbury, was his close friend. Through Spring and Woods three laymen were aroused to an interest in theological education. These were William Bartlet, a successful merchant of Newburyport, Moses Brown of the same town, and John Norris of Salem. They were all men of wealth, and though not all church mem-

bers they were willing to use their money for religious purposes, and they soon agreed to support the plans for a theological school at West Newbury. Reverend Nathaniel Emmons at Franklin, one of the most eminent of the Hopkinsian theologians, was an active supporter.

Here then were two groups of Calvinists, equally determined to establish a stronghold of orthodoxy for the Congregational churches of New England, preparing to found two schools of theology within twenty miles of each other, and to appeal to the same denominational constituency. At Andover the foundation was already laid and the Hopkinsians were making progress, when Woods and Morse, who were associated in the publication of the *Panoplist,* an organ of the Orthodox Calvinists against the Unitarian *Anthology,* discovered each other's enterprise. Immediately it was apparent to both that the two groups ought to combine forces. Both were Calvinists and equally hostile to the Liberal movement in Massachusetts, and they were agreed in their purpose to provide orthodox training for the Congregational ministry. It was to require patience, long discussion, sweet reasonableness, and perseverance, before the two parties could be brought to arrange a merger. The Old Calvinists were especially desirous to have the school at Andover. The Hopkinsians were insistent upon their own interpretation of Calvinism as the doctrinal foundation of the school. Eventually they compromised reciprocally, but progress toward union was discouragingly slow.

Pearson and Woods labored indefatigably. Pearson's chaise became a familiar object as it traveled back and forth more than thirty times over the highway between Andover and Newburyport in an endeavor to unsnarl the theological tangle. Woods had an inexhaustible gift of diplomacy which he used to good effect. But there was mutual suspicion. Dr. Spring was doubtful about joining with a theological enterprise which would be controlled by the Trustees of the Academy at Andover, who were content with the Westminster standards of doctrine. Some of them, living in Boston, were dangerously liberal. Spring expressed the Hopkinsian suspicion when he wrote: "Our Constitution we must have at Andover independent of

them; or, a separate trust collected from Andover, making half the united trust provided by our Constitution, must be the condition of our connection, or we cannot safely remove to Andover, nor even then; for we can't before the Millennium govern them any more than we can the Emperor. And they must not govern."

Since the Trustees were not allowed by their charter to hold an estate sufficient to carry out the design of the donors, the Legislature of Massachusetts on June 19, 1807, authorized the Trustees to receive and hold additional property "for the purpose of a theological institution and in furtherance of the designs of the pious founders and benefactors of said Academy." Madam Phillips, John Phillips, Jr., and Samuel Abbot then joined in executing a Deed of Gift, dated August 31, 1807, and embodying sundry rules and regulations which were to be the Constitution of "a public theological institution in Phillips Academy." Madam Phillips and John Phillips, Jr., thus undertook to erect two buildings for the purpose of the proposed Seminary, while Samuel Abbot gave twenty thousand dollars "as a fund for the purpose of maintaining a professor of Christian Theology" in the Seminary. His gift to Andover was the first American foundation for a chair in theology outside a university, for in 1807 a foundation for purely theological education was almost unknown in America. In the Middle States the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches had made small beginnings, but in New England the Congregationalists had depended on Harvard and Yale. In a legal sense the new Seminary at Andover was the theological institution in Phillips Academy, but it was so distinct in faculty, buildings, and funds as to be actually a separate school.

The deed of August 31, 1807, was signed in the belief that union with the Hopkinsians was likely to prove impossible. The Trustees immediately voted to "accept the sacred and very important trust devolved upon them by the preceding instrument." Among the regulations which the Trustees thus accepted was one to the effect that every professor in the Seminary must "be a man of sound and orthodox principles in divinity according to that form of sound words or system of

evangelical doctrines, drawn from the Scriptures, and denominated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and more concisely delineated in the Constitution of Phillips Academy." In further regulations it was provided that every professor must at the time of his inauguration solemnly promise to maintain and inculcate the Christian faith as summarily expressed in the Shorter Catechism "in opposition not only to Atheists and Infidels, but to Jews, Mahommetans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Universalists, and to all other heresies and errors, ancient or modern, which may be opposed to the Gospel of Christ, or hazardous to the souls of men," and that every professor must repeat this declaration in the presence of the Trustees once in five years.

The purpose of the Founders, according to their constitution, was to increase "the number of learned and able defenders of the Gospel of Christ, as well as of orthodox, pious, and zealous ministers of the New Testament; being moved, as we hope, by a principle of gratitude to God and benevolence to man." A similar purpose motivated the Associate Founders, the Hopkinsians, who in the Associate Statutes which they drew up said more rhetorically: "To the Spirit of Truth, to the divine Author of our faith, to the only wise God, we desire in sincerity to present this our humble offering, devoutly imploring the Father of Lights, richly to endue with wisdom from above all His servants, the Visitors of this Foundation, and the Trustees of the Seminary, and with spiritual understanding the professors therein, that, being illuminated by the Holy Spirit their doctrine may drop as the rain; and that their pupils may become trees of renown in the courts of our God, whereby He may be glorified."

For some months it seemed likely that two schools would arise on account of their differences in theological interpretation, unfortunate though such duplication of effort would be. But the idea of affiliation was still at work. In the spring of 1808 the Hopkinsian promoters met and on the twenty-first of March adopted their series of associate statutes, and as Associate Founders submitted their constitution to the Trus-

tees of Phillips Academy. Their project carried with it an offer of ten thousand dollars each from Brown, Bartlet, and Norris, and a promise of an additional ten thousand from Bartlet. These sums were intended to provide for the support of two professors and for student aid. These were tempting offers, but the statutes drawn up by the Associate Founders contained three provisions which caused hesitation among the Founders.

The Hopkinsians had drawn up a creed for their school which contained articles interpreting their theology, and they would not compromise with the Founders at Andover upon this point. In order to safeguard their tenets they prescribed that every professor should be a Hopkinsian and at his inauguration should subscribe to the creed. Then, to make doubly sure, it was stipulated that a board of visitors should be appointed, after the example of the Overseers at Harvard, to examine, when necessary, the orthodoxy of the members of the Faculty, to see that the funds were not misused, and to control the Trustees in their administration of the property. The Founders had agreed that the Associate Founders might prescribe additional statutes and appoint visitors to enforce such statutes, but it was not anticipated that the visitors would be their masters. The third provision of the Associate Statutes was that the alliance should be subject to revision at any time during the first seven years, even to the withdrawal of the Associate funds.

The patience and pertinacity of Pearson and Woods had brought about a tentative agreement in the preceding December. They kept steadily at work and were rewarded at length on the tenth of May when seven out of eight of the Trustees present agreed to accept the terms of the Associate Founders and the affiliation was completed. It was prophetic of the habit of affiliation which Andover was to acquire later.

The compromise which was reached provided that the Seminary should be located at Andover, and the Trustees of the Academy should hold and administer the endowments under their charter. The original Constitution of the Founders was to stand, and the Associate Statutes of the Hopkinsians to be of equal authority. Every occupant of a chair endowed by

the Associate Founders should be a Hopkinsian. Madam Phillips and her son were to erect the building for the Seminary, Phillips Hall, and the donations offered were accepted, twenty thousand each from Abbot and Bartlet and ten thousand each from Brown and Norris, the last three gifts constituting the Associate Foundation and the donors constituting the Associate Founders. A self-perpetuating Board of Visitors was given power to review the acts of the Trustees, to interpret the Creed and the Associate Statutes, as occasion might arise, and to preserve the orthodoxy of the Seminary. Appeal might be made from the Visitors to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, if they "should exceed the limits of their jurisdiction and constitutional power," or "act contrary to" the statutes of the Seminary. The Visitors were intended to be censors of the school as long as the sun and moon endure, visiting it at least once a year, and to see, as it was phrased, that the true intentions of the Founders of the Seminary were carried out. The charter of Phillips Academy, enacted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1780, provided that the Trustees should not be more than thirteen or less than seven, and that the majority should be "laymen and respectable freeholders"; and provided further that the Board should be a self-perpetuating body. The Visitors were three in number, two of them clergymen, likewise self-perpetuating. They must subscribe to the Associate Creed. The records of the Trustees were to be open to the public; those of the Visitors were a closed book.

It was a moot question whether the acceptance by the Trustees of the donations of the Hopkinsians and of the Hopkinsian Board of Visitors was not in violation of the charter of Phillips Academy. That forbade the Trustees ever to receive any grant or donation, "the condition whereof should require them or any other concerned, to act in any respect counter to the design of the first grantors or of any prior donation." It also provided that the Trustees then in office and their successors should be "true and sole Visitors, Trustees, and Governors of the said Phillips Academy in perpetual succession forever."

The Hopkinsian Creed differed somewhat from the Westminster Confession, omitting a few sections and modifying others. It was in substance an affirmation of belief in the authority of the Bible as superior to reason, in the sovereignty of the divine will, in the election of some to be saved from the consequences of the fall of Adam, in the atonement of Christ intended for all, but really limited to the elect, and in the assured salvation of these few, but the hopeless condemnation of the rest. It was intended to include, as has been said, "just as much of the peculiarities of each party as would not exclude the participation in the resultant symbol of the other." It was phrased in an irenic spirit, but it was an effort to combine two schools of theological thought which could not be harmonized, and theologically the compromise was destined to prove a tragic failure.

The two orthodox parties agreed against the Liberals that the Scripture was a fixed deposit of truth rather than a progressive revelation, and that reason had no right to contradict; that man is handicapped from the start and is saved only by the grace of God, mediated through the Cross; that Christ died to satisfy divine justice, and that He was very God Himself. But the two Calvinistic parties differed at many points themselves. The Hopkinsians maintained the doctrine of divine sovereignty, but they modified the plight of man. They rejected the Old Calvinist doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin, as if Adam were the representative of the human race, and maintained that every man's sin is his own personal responsibility. They made less of human depravity and more of actual sinning. They did not believe that God had closed absolutely the door of hope, because there is in man a certain natural ability to obey God's law. And Christ had died for all men, not as a penal satisfaction to an outraged deity, but as an expression of his universal benevolence. And man should rely on the atoning Christ and not on any outward means of grace.

The Associate Statutes provided that every professor on the Associate Foundation should on the day of his inauguration publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith "in divine revelation and in the fundamental and distinguish-

ing doctrines of the Gospel" as expressed in the Creed, and that every five years he should repeat the declaration, including the following: "I do solemnly promise that I will open and explain the Scriptures to my pupils with integrity and faithfulness; that I will maintain and inculcate the Christian faith as expressed in the Creed by me now repeated, together with all other doctrines and duties of our holy religion, so far as may appertain to my office, according to the best light that God shall give me, and in opposition not only to atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Papists, Mahommetans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Sabellians, Unitarians, and Universalists, and to all other heresies and errors, ancient and modern, which may be opposed to the gospel of Christ or hazardous to the souls of men; that by my instruction, counsel, and example I will endeavor to promote true piety and godliness; that I will consult the good of this institution and the peace of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ on all occasions; and that I will religiously conform to the constitution and laws of this Seminary, and to the statutes of this foundation."

The Hopkinsians lived in continual dread lest the school might be captured at any time by their rivals. Nathaniel Emmons wrote in 1819: "I have feared and do still more and more fear that that richly endowed Seminary will erelong become the fountain of theological errors, and disseminate them through all New England, if not this America. I have for some time been convinced that neither the teachers nor the taught strictly adhere to that excellent Creed upon which the institution was professedly founded. They are fast verging towards the absurdities of the Old Calvinism." So difficult was it to put the mind of man in a strait-jacket. Yet the professor of theology throughout that period was Leonard Woods, who was so active as a Hopkinsian in the foundation of the Seminary.

The Creed was duly insured and as it seemed placed in safe deposit by the language of the Associate Statutes, which read: "It is strictly and solemnly enjoined, and left in sacred charge, that every article of the abovesaid Creed shall forever remain

entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration, or any addition or diminution."

In 1842 the Trustees decided that it was unnecessary for the associate professors to subscribe to more than the Creed. Professor William J. Tucker, before signing the Creed in 1880, declared explicitly: "The creed which I am about to read and to which I subscribe, I fully accept as setting forth the truth against the errors which it was designed to meet. No confession so elaborate and with such intent may assume to be the final expression of the truth or an expression equally fitted in language or tone to all times."

There was a single saving clause for the liberal interpreter, "according to the best light God shall give me." Perhaps the attitude of the early Faculty is best expressed by Moses Stuart, whose orthodoxy was undoubted. In a sermon preached at the dedication of Bartlet Chapel in 1818, he said: "We profess to adopt for substance the sentiments of the Westminster Catechism, but it is not our standard of orthodoxy, nor any other human production. In principle, I believe in practice, we are genuine Protestants. The Bible we regard as the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice. We believe in the doctrines of our Creed, merely because we suppose the Bible teaches them. We profess to shrink not from the most strenuous investigation. I am bold to say, there is not a school of theology on earth, where more free and unlimited investigation is indulged, nay inculcated and practiced. The shelves of our library are loaded with books of Latitudinarians and Skeptics, which are read and studied. We have no apprehension that the truths which we believe are to suffer by such an investigation."

The Creed was apparently the law within which the prophet was free to range, as the aviator performs his evolutions, always mindful of the law of mechanics. The fathers did not think of theology as a thing of life, and so subject to change; therefore they made their creed a test of orthodoxy rather than a simple confession of faith. It was a confession of fear of heterodoxy in an age when heresy was one of the cardinal sins of Protestantism, as in the Catholic Church. That they

could come together at all with their rivals inside the same fold is more remarkable than it is today that schools of different denominations should affiliate. Their common faith in the true fundamentals of the Christian gospel made that possible. If the Hopkinsian Creed was a wall to keep others out of the Hopkinsian preserves, it was not a wall to shut them in. And when the students of the Seminary greeted one another as brethren regardless of their party stamp, the old competition was forgotten. Students never were required to subscribe to the Creed, and several different denominations were represented among them.

One of the first tasks of the Board of Trustees was to choose a faculty. Two men were logical candidates, the two men who had done the most to perfect the union, Pearson and Woods. Pearson had been a prominent teacher, and Woods was the intended professor of theology for the proposed school at West Newbury. Pearson represented the Old Calvinist tradition, Woods the Hopkinsian interpretation. In the interests of harmony Samuel Abbot of the Founders selected Woods as the incumbent of the professorship of Christian theology, which he had endowed, and William Bartlet of the Associate Founders accepted Pearson for his professorship of natural theology, with the expectation that he would expound sacred literature. But curiously enough Woods, the Hopkinsian, who should have subscribed to the Associate Creed, signed the Catechism only, and Pearson, whose party stood for the Westminster Catechism, signed only the Creed. At the opening of the Seminary prayer was offered for the two professors that they might be "a lovely, happy pair."

Not only was the control of the Seminary provided for very carefully, but control of Faculty and students was buttressed by numerous regulations. The Associate Statutes contained in all twenty-eight articles. The original Constitution contained thirty-four articles, and to these thirteen articles were added by the original Founders. The Associate Statutes were accepted by the Trustees on May 10, 1808. The rules of the Seminary were published the next year in seven chapters of sixty-five articles; again in 1837 in thirteen chapters of one

hundred and two articles. Each professor's instruction was regulated carefully for his department. By the professor of natural theology, for example, "the existence, attributes, and providence of God must be demonstrated; the soul's immortality and a future state, as deducible from the light of nature, discussed; the obligations of man to his Maker, resulting from the divine perfections and his own rational nature, enforced; the great duties of social life, flowing from the mutual relations of man to man, inculcated; and the several personal virtues deduced and delineated; the whole being interspersed with remarks on the coincidence between the dictates of reason and the doctrines of revelation, in these primary points; and, notwithstanding such coincidence, the necessity and utility of a divine revelation stated."

The munificence of the friends of the school established it on equally firm financial foundations. The most liberal donors were the members of the Phillips family. They provided for buildings with gifts of forty thousand dollars, and sixty thousand more went for land and endowment. William Bartlet was the most generous single donor. He contributed one-half of the Associate Fund of forty thousand, added fifteen thousand later for the Bartlet professorship, and built Bartlet Hall (the Chapel), and three houses for professors. Samuel Abbot brought his total contribution to over a hundred thousand dollars. John Norris and his wife gave forty thousand, Moses Brown thirty-five thousand, and there were other gifts amounting to about seventy-five thousand dollars, including scholarships. Altogether about four hundred and fifty thousand dollars were available for buildings and endowments within the first half century.

The establishment of the Seminary was a significant event in American church history. The union of the two theological groups of conservatives in the Seminary proved an effective counterpoise to the Unitarian trend in Congregational circles. Naturally the Liberals were not pleased. The Harvard attitude was not friendly. Woods reported to Farrar in 1807 that there was "loud murmuring and reproach and imprecation." On his own part Woods did not feel cordial. He wrote to

Jedediah Morse: "I hate to fight with such creatures as the 'Anthologists.' They can make the loudest noise. They never will feel conquered. They will use instruments and methods of battle which we disapprove and despise. Let not our pages be soiled with their matters." All of which is evidence of the hostilities of the period. The Congregational churches expressed their good will for the school and confidence in it. Most of the ministers were in sympathy with the course that had been followed, and they believed in the principle of theological education. The General Association of Massachusetts in 1808 recorded its satisfaction that an important theological institution had been established in the county of Essex. Two years later its committee on the state of the churches reported that the smiles of God rested on the Theological Seminary. As far away as New York City a lively interest was felt and surprise was expressed at the financial resources and the number of students. The Seminary marked a distinct stage of advance in theological training, and spurred the Congregationalists to establish other institutions for theological education. Bangor Theological Seminary was opened at Hampden, Maine, in 1816, for students without college training, and was removed to Bangor three years later. Yale Divinity School was founded as a distinct department of the University in 1822, as Harvard Divinity School had been at Cambridge in 1815. Other denominations were soon establishing their own schools on the Andover model.

The foundations at Andover were laid firmly. The superstructure was to be built into the lives and characters of generations of theological students, and the influence of the Seminary on the Hill was to be felt around the world. For the first half century it was to train most of the pastors of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts and nearly all the foreign missionaries of the American Board, and many Presbyterians who found their fields of labor in the Middle and Western States. Because of its high standards, competent instruction, and thorough discipline, Andover became a recognized leader in theology, in biblical research, and in general contribution to the study of religion.

CHAPTER II

SEMINARY LIFE IN THE EARLY YEARS

ON a delightful day in early autumn, the twenty-eighth of September, 1808, the friends of the new Seminary gathered from far and near to celebrate the opening of the school. Some of them had been present at the founding of the Academy thirty years earlier. Andover was still a small village, but it was to become famous for its educational institutions. Already the Academy was in good repute. Now it was to become a shrine of religion, and from it were to radiate influences that would be unbounded in their scope. No one in the audience which gathered to share in the exercises of the day could have imagined how soon alumni of the Seminary would go far afield on foreign mission bent, to India and Burma, to Africa and the Near East, or how many would find almost as difficult a field of labor with Indians on the southwestern frontier of America. But already the mission purpose had crystallized under a haystack in Williamstown at the other end of Massachusetts, presently it would focalize at a point nearby for missionary organization, and then its sponsors would make the name of Andover known at the ends of the earth.

The people filed into the pews of the parish meetinghouse, and gave their attention to the order of exercises. It would have been unseemly if so grave an event as the institution of a theological seminary should not be observed with the most solemn dignity and with a profound sense of the significance of the occasion. It was fitting that the people should take time to dedicate the institution and to invest its faculty with the authority of their office.

Reverend Jonathan French, pastor of the church, made the introductory prayer. This was especially appropriate because

of his primary interest in organizing a seminary, his part in its organization, and his office as pastor of the church. After the prayer had been offered, Dr. Eliphalet Pearson recounted the history of the Academy from the time of its founding. Then he read the Constitution for the new foundation. Dr. Jedediah Morse read the statutes of the Associate Founders. These were supplemented by the Additional Statutes which Squire Farrar had penned for the original Founders, read now by Dr. Daniel Dana, the most uncompromisingly conservative of the Board of Trustees. These events were carried out in the prolix fashion of that day, and the forenoon exercises ended with music. The music of the day was furnished by the musical associations of Middlesex, Essex, and Suffolk counties, aided by "other respectable gentlemen, both of the clergy and the laity, who politely gave their assistance in the solemnities of the day."

After the visitors had enjoyed the hospitality of the townsfolk, they wended their way again to the meetinghouse for the service of the afternoon. This was an occasion of special interest because it was to include the ordination of Dr. Pearson, professor-elect. No unordained man could be a professor in Andover Seminary. The village had long known and honored Dr. Pearson. The people knew him in Revolutionary days, when he dabbled in chemistry to obtain the saltpetre needed for the army. They had sat under his instruction in one of those singing schools that relieved the tedium of village life and combined education and enjoyment. They had known him as a schoolmaster, and had been gratified over the honors that he had received at Harvard. They had welcomed him back to citizenship in the old town. They were aware of the part that he had taken in the creation of the new theological foundation. They were ready to give him his full meed of local honors.

Prayer was offered by Dr. Dana; the sermon was preached by Dr. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College; and the consecrating prayer was made by Dr. Spring; then followed the charge to the candidate by Mr. French, and the hand of fellowship by Dr. Morse. After the ordination service was

over Dr. Spring read the Creed, which to the Hopkinsians was so important a part of the machinery of the establishment. Dr. Dwight declared Dr. Pearson a professor in the Seminary and invested him with the rights of office, and Dr. Pearson in turn rendered the same service to Dr. Woods. Professor Woods then delivered his inaugural address, *On the Glory and Excellency of the Gospel.* Leonard Woods had been valedictorian of his class at Harvard, he appreciated the importance of the occasion, and he did full justice to it. The day proved too wearisome to Dr. Pearson, who was not in the best of health, and his oration was omitted. After a closing prayer by Dr. Dwight, the service concluded with an anthem by the choir, which was pronounced highly gratifying to the audience.

Phillips Hall was not yet ready for classes, so that Dr. Woods held his first class in his own house. In due time the new building was ready for occupancy, and the proceedings became more regular. It had been hoped that perhaps as many as twelve young men might desire to avail themselves of the opportunity to study at Andover in preference to residing with a Congregational minister, or living in the dangerous environment of Harvard College. No one was optimistic enough to expect a larger number. It was not easy to gain admittance. The candidate must show a certificate of good character from those who knew him. The Constitution prescribed that students must be young men, "of good natural and acquired talents" who have honorably completed "a course of liberal education" and who sustain "a fair moral character." Each man must submit to an examination before two professors and Dr. Spring, and show his ability to use Latin and Greek, and if he had not graduated from college he was required to show some knowledge of science.

The influx of students surprised everybody, and taxed the accommodations of the school. Before the first year was over thirty-six students had enrolled. Classes averaged approximately fifty men during the first eight years, then the numbers increased until in 1819 more than one hundred were enrolled. Students came mainly from the Congregational colleges of New England, but Hamilton, Union, and Princeton, each had

its quota. The class of 1810, with fifty-six students, represented Williams with sixteen men, Yale nine, Middlebury seven, Brown, a Baptist college, seven, Princeton five, Harvard three, Union, Dartmouth, and Bowdoin two each, and the University of Vermont one. In the first ten years only four men were graduated who had not received the Bachelor of Arts degree. During the first twenty-five years only forty-two out of six hundred and seven Andover graduates were not college graduates. By that time Dartmouth rivaled Yale in furnishing the largest number of students, the one sending one hundred and sixteen, the other one hundred and nine. Middlebury had prepared and sent eighty-six. These three thus supplied more than half of the total number. The record continued with Williams sixty-two, Amherst forty-six, Brown thirty-eight, Bowdoin thirty-two, Hamilton twenty-two, and Union sixteen. In the first thirty-eight years of the school's existence twenty different colleges were represented. Andover thus brought together into a close fraternity men for the ministry who otherwise might have remained provincially minded. And in the first quarter century of the Seminary's history sixty-seven men were commissioned as foreign missionaries. Altogether fifteen hundred students sat in Andover classrooms in less than forty years.

It was some time before those who came were persuaded that the theological discipline required three full years in preparation for pastoral responsibilities. Less than two-thirds of the whole number of students completed the three years' course. Some came to receive instruction in a single subject or from a particular professor. The curriculum rather encouraged such a method, for it was organized on the principle of concentration on a single field of discipline, biblical studies during the first year, theology for the second year, and homiletics with a little church history for the third year. The junior class usually declined in numbers as the year wore on. Certain students were impatient to get settled in a parish. To one such youth who claimed that he must be sowing the gospel seed a professor suggested that it might be advisable to get some seed to sow. Sometimes the real reason for a theologue's

haste was his desire to marry. The health of not a few students broke down and a number died. Too sedentary an occupation following upon farm work sapped the health, and insufficient or improper nourishment took its toll. Pecuniary difficulties hampered some and prevented a continuance of study, in spite of the low cost of living in the school, and the student aid that was provided. Certain men improved an opportunity to teach. A few shifted to another seminary for denominational reasons, as when the Baptists founded Newton Theological Institution in 1825. As an offset other men entered to advanced standing.

The founders realized the need of substantial buildings, and when the need arrived they were ready to make generous provision. The ground available for construction needed to be landscaped. It was a field of rocks and bushes. A stone wall surrounded the present campus. There was need of superintendence in putting the grounds in order, and it became a frequent spectacle to see the dignified form of Professor Pearson perched aloft among the branches of a neighboring tree. From this vantage point he planned and directed the improvement of the grounds. Before everything was in order students had made gravel walks across the campus; maple, chestnut, birch, and especially elms, were shading the area; and the place began to resemble the classic environment of college students.

The first three of the oldest structures which constituted Brick Row was Phillips Hall. This was the gift of the Phillips family, and was completed during the first year of the Seminary. It was constructed of brick with a slate roof, was four stories in height, and was divided in the middle, with a front and a rear entry on each side. The building contained thirty rooms for students, and one room in the building was used successively as chapel, reading room, and a memorial to one of the later professors.

An unpublished letter which was written on Thanksgiving Day, 1825, gives a glimpse of the building. Addison Kingsbury had entered the Seminary as a junior, and he relates his experiences to his brother. Leaving Boston by stagecoach on a

Saturday afternoon with eleven passengers inside and four outside, he spent three hours on the road, reaching Andover about seven o'clock in the evening. Then he continued: "I have had some trouble in getting located, as the rooms were principally taken up. I have at last succeeded in obtaining a room in the fourth story, though with few or no accommodations. I expected the rooms were furnished. I accordingly brought no furniture with me and I find none here of consequence except a poor bed without any clothing. I have however succeeded in obtaining some from a society that furnishes students in certain cases. My tables are not fit to stand in your old kitchen, and as for chairs I am now sitting upon one without any back writing to you. . . . However I am not disposed to complain, though I have complained, but I would have students come on here with their eyes open and with the expectation of finding very inferior accommodations the first year." He says that the older classes of students have everything comfortable and pleasant in Bartlet Hall.

The second building to be erected in Brick Row was Bartlet Chapel. This was the gift of the generous benefactor, William Bartlet, to whom Trustees and Faculty turned as needs demanded. Already he had provided houses for the professors, as well as contributing liberally to the endowment. Now in 1818 he was ready to pay for a chapel building in Bulfinch design, which would include classrooms as well as a place for devotions. As bricks made in Newburyport were better than those made in Andover, it was arranged that four powerful oxen should haul them over the hills, and so again Newburyport came to Andover. The new building originally was three stories high, with a small, round cupola. The room for the chapel occupied one side of the building on the main floor, and the library was housed above it. On the other side of the chapel were three classrooms. Some confusion was caused by the fact that the building at first was called Bartlet Hall, but when the second dormitory was built in 1821 the name Bartlet Hall was transferred to that, and the chapel building was called Bartlet Chapel.

The increasing number of students was making more dor-

mitory space imperative. Many of the students had to find lodgings at a distance. William Bartlet again was equal to the occasion. One morning the professors found his men at work excavating the cellar. The newest addition was a three-story brick structure, one hundred by forty feet, and flanked the Chapel on the right, completing Brick Row. It was the most pretentious of the three buildings, for its thirty-two rooms were arranged in suites of a sitting-room and two bedrooms. Each sitting-room had a fireplace with a broad hearth, and an opening above for a stovepipe in case stoves were preferred. For convenience the back of the fireplace had an iron door through which ashes might be started towards the cellar. The building was ornamented with Venetian blinds. The rooms were furnished by Mrs. Bartlet.

John Todd, a student in 1823, described his own room in Bartlet Hall as square and the floor painted yellow. "Here you will find," he wrote, "my chum and myself each bending over a comfortable writing-desk laid upon two marble-colored tables. You see our room ornamented with four pretty chairs, a beautiful mahogany bureau, large mirror—all furnished by the munificent Mr. Bartlet. All the rooms in this building are furnished alike. Nothing could add to our convenience if we had a carpet. But this is of little consequence."

The completion of Brick Row fixed the outward form of the Seminary for the next forty-five years. The three buildings were dignified in their architecture and formed a unit of equipment sufficient for the needs of the school. Andover Hill was not a lofty height, but from the windows of the buildings it was possible to get a view over the valley through which the Shawsheen River flows, and to glimpse the higher reaches to the north. Popularly the hill was called Pisgah or Zion.

The expenses of student life were small. There was no tuition to pay, rent was only a nominal sum of two to four dollars a year, and board in Commons was cheap. This was fortunate because the students had little money, but they were generous with one another. On one occasion, when an impecunious man appeared with a family of four children and no visible means of support, the students were ready to share

with the family what little they had. The Faculty reported to the Trustees at the end of the first ten years that the indigent state of most of the students made it advisable not to impose any fines for damage done to library books. Addison Kingsbury spent in making himself reasonably comfortable the sum that he had intended for the purchase of books, and he had to get his first books on credit, with interest payable after three months.

Students were responsible in general for heating their own rooms. Once a year they appointed a committee on wood whose duty it was to arrange for the necessary fuel. They aided in the expense of heating the lecture rooms, but at a time when most meetinghouses were unheated it is not surprising that the dining-room in which they sat thrice a day was unwarmed for a considerable time. In the winter of 1832 the students voted "to request Squire Farrar to mend the old, or procure a new stove for the lower lecture room, lest our mental energies go off *in fermo*."

Many common conventions which now are regarded as necessities were as lacking as they were in the homes from which the students came. There was no water supply in town except wells, and students drew water in their own pitchers out-of-doors, and carried fuel for their wood-stoves upstairs from the Seminary woodpile. They took care of their own rooms when attention seemed to be required, made their beds and trimmed their lamps, as they had done in college. Three times a day they visited the Commons, which was provided by the Trustees, and which stood in the rear of the Chapel. The Trustees had a committee of exigencies, which promptly in 1808 licensed Mrs. Silence Smith "to keep boarders agreeably to the rules of the Trustees." About ten years later the same committee voted that Daniel Cummings "be licensed to keep boarders provided upon examination it be found that he prays in his family."

The refectory was a low, brown, two-story house. The fare was simple, and hardly made more appetizing by the discussions of dour, theological questions. At times it became necessary to economize in the kitchen, and the students were inclined

to rebel at such a substitution as molasses for meat. Indeed, it is among the legends of Andover that a certain student fell sick and after the medical practice of the day the physician resorted to blood-letting. But to the amazement of the practitioner the veins of the theologue oozed nothing but syrup.

The Founders seem to have believed in plain living along with high thinking, even for the Trustees. Article 33 of the Constitution ruled that "decent not extravagant entertainment shall be made for the Trustees while attending the annual meeting of the Board." Much less was the living of the students extravagant. The poverty of the table was aggravated by the fact that the students ate in a cold dining-room. The Faculty brought this matter to the attention of the Trustees after an experience of ten years had shown this infelicity. Cautiously they said: "You will permit us to mention that . . . some improvement in regard to diet and convenience at meals . . . are deserving of consideration. We refer particularly to the fact that during the whole winter season the students are accustomed to take their meals in a room without fireplace or stove. This custom occasions some difficulties which it is desirable to avoid." The students shivered through hurried meals and preserved few of the amenities. To render the occasion more endurable warm bread was provided every morning, which the professors regarded as "very prejudicial to the health of the students." The students did not complain directly, but "we have abundant evidence," said the Faculty report, "that the provision of a warm room would be very grateful to all, peculiarly so to those who are in feeble health."

The students themselves had doubts about the wholesomeness of warm bread, and the records of the Brethren relate that a committee of three was appointed to interview the steward regarding the desirability of substituting cold bread for breakfast. The asceticism of the New England Calvinist appears again during the same period when the students voted "that the steward be requested not to place sugar on the table." After a few months the Brethren appointed a committee of one "to inquire into the expediency of introducing sugar into the hall and report thereon." A year later it was voted to re-

quest Squire Farrar to provide sugar for the Commons. Perhaps it was penury rather than asceticism which made the students sensitive to the subject of sugar. Two years later still, about the time when the matter of hot bread was in debate, the sugar discussion seems to have been settled by a vote of the students, to wit: "At a meeting after the Professors' Conference in which the importance of retrenchment in things not necessary to comfort and health was exhibited, Voted, that [three persons] be a committee to see who were willing to dispense with the use of sugar in Commons."

On the first of November the students voted a definite bill of fare: "Resolved, that for breakfast we have milk, prepared in any method most agreeable to each brother, bread and baked apples, or a substitute. For dinner one kind of meat, bread, and a sufficient quantity and variety of vegetables. For supper milk, bread, and butter." Six weeks later it was resolved "that those brethren who cannot eat milk in the morning be furnished with butter and water instead of it."

The next year gustatory controversy arose in the Seminary, as if the air was not blue enough with the smoke of theological polemics. Two parties developed, one favoring the ascetic principle that always had its highest exemplification once a year on Fast Day, the other leaning towards a fair degree of self-indulgence. Some of the students proposed that the board be simplified beyond the bill of fare aforementioned. Others argued that the body was sufficiently subdued in the interests of the spirit. The tide of feeling rose so high that the Faculty was constrained to report in the following language to the Trustees: "The system of retrenchment in Commons, which was a voluntary arrangement of the students last year, originating in a laudable spirit of Christian self-denial and promising important results as to the health of the Seminary and the economy of its funds, was attended with some difficulties among themselves from the beginning. These difficulties increased during the last winter, so as to produce feelings of jealousy and strife to an unhappy extent. . . . We lament the unfavorable influence which the causes of excitement . . . have exerted on the piety of the Seminary." The matter was not

ended until one of the students was dismissed from the school.

Before the next Thanksgiving Day a majority of the students petitioned the Faculty that they might have tea and coffee added to the bill of fare. Professor Woods held a conference with seventy-five of them and by inquiries elicited the information that twenty-five were opposed to the indulgence, but except in three cases they would acquiesce if the Faculty thought it best to make the change. The three opposed the change on account of the added cost of meals, but when it was proposed that other students meet the extra expense for them, they declared that they were able to pay their own board. The professor then announced that the petition was granted, and tea and coffee would be served henceforth. Commons was abolished in 1845.

It is easy to understand that students suffered from indigestion. Summer epidemics were common; on one occasion so many were ill that classes had to be suspended. A severe epidemic occurred in the winter of 1826. Frequently students nursed one another through diseases that in these days would receive hospital treatment. The Constitution anticipated a day when the school would have its own private hospital. In 1824 an infirmary actually was built and named Samaritan House, but it was not erected by the Trustees. The women of the community in the kindness of their hearts had formed the Samaritan Female Society of Andover and Vicinity for the purpose of aiding the poor students of the Academy and the Seminary who were ill and preparing for them free "rooms, bedding, furniture, fuel, diet, medicine, nurses, physicians, necessaries, and comforts, as may be requisite and proper for their respective cases."

The preamble to the constitution of the Society read quaintly: "Several females in the vicinity of Phillips Academy and of the Theological Institution in Andover, having been frequently called to witness among the students, and especially the indigent (of which last description there are in both seminaries more than a hundred individuals) various and affecting cases of sickness and distress, which with their best exertions it has not been in their power to relieve according to their

wishes, either by receiving the sufferers into their families, providing them nurses, or supplying them with comforts and necessaries, as their situation required; and as it is not in the power of the guardians of these seminaries, without violation of their sacred trust, to apply the funds to any other purpose than those to which they are so wisely appropriated; . . . in view of these and other reasons, too numerous to be named, after mutual and deliberate consultation, agreed on the fourth day of April, 1817, to form a society for the purpose, and upon the principles, contained in the following constitution." Two officers were charged with specific ministries. The almoner should "have the charge of keeping in a proper state the rooms, beds, furniture, clothes, and all other articles, provided and given for the accommodation and comfort of the sick; of superintending the use and distribution of the same, and also the principal care of giving due notice of the particular cases, wants and necessities of the sick, agreeably to the general or special order of the directors. The collector will be expected to use her diligence as well in procuring necessaries and comforts for immediate use of the indigent sick, as in collecting subscriptions for the support of this establishment."

"These exertions are made with the pleasing expectation, that the Honorable and Reverend Trustees of Phillips Academy will extend the wing of their protection over an institution, devoted to the relief of their indigent, sick, and helpless pupils."

The health of the students was a matter of frequent concern. As early as 1812 the Faculty recommended to the Trustees the building of a wood-house, for the storing of the students' supply and as a means of exercise for the students, who could not swing an axe in the cellar of the hall, because the ceiling was so low. Before long the professors thought it possible that some exercise might be devised which would be beneficial to the student and advantageous to the Seminary at the same time, and they proposed the erection of a workshop and the enlargement of the garden of the Commons, and the employment of a gardener to teach the students agriculture. They advised that "a garden, abounding in all the succulent roots

and plants which are healthful, would diminish rather than increase the expenses of living."

Whether the Trustees thought that the Faculty should not be encouraged to make suggestions, or that the students ought to understand gardening without special instruction, they contented themselves with suggesting to the Faculty that they require manual labor from the students for one or two hours a day on the land of the Seminary. After twelve years had passed the committee of exigencies was authorized to provide a workshop. This was a rude, stone structure, equipped with tools and benches built at the north end of the Commons, and there the students fashioned coffins, wheelbarrows, and other useful articles.

The Mechanical Association was organized, which rented the building from the Trustees, but the students were not permitted to have a fire because it would be "unsafe and inexpedient." Making coffins in an unheated room did not prove popular, though the children of the professors created an occasional diversion when they played among the shavings. "Hammered in," says the annalist, "were the Greek and Hebrew, homiletics and ecclesiastical history, election, free grace, natural depravity, and justification by faith—hammered down tight and the nail clinched on the other side."

The business experiment of the students was not successful financially. The Association became bankrupt with a debt of nearly one thousand dollars, and the students who were responsible for it were scattered. The Trustees refused to assume any responsibility in the matter, though the Faculty suggested that the credit of the school was involved. The workshop stood vacant until it was remodeled for the home of Professor Calvin E. Stowe. There his wife, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote "Dred" and "The Minister's Wooing." The building was used later as a boarding house, and after the Mansion House was burned in 1887 it became the Phillips Inn. The Mansion House had an interesting history. It had been built on Main Street in 1782 when Judge Phillips wished to leave his earlier residence on the Abbot estate, where the Academy had been born and where later Professor Woods

lived, to the principal of the Academy. The new house was the most pretentious dwelling in town, and, like numerous other New England houses, was visited at one time by George Washington. After enjoying its elegance for twenty years Judge Phillips died, and the Trustees purchased the property, which from that time was called the Mansion House, and during a large part of the century was the hotel of the village. It was proud of such visitors as Webster, Jackson, and Lafayette.

For exercise the students blasted and cleared away rocks from the Missionary Field back of the buildings, worked on the campus grounds, and rambled about the vicinity. Two students, one of whom became a well-known college professor, used to race each other around a three-mile triangle on winter mornings before sunrise to give tone to breakfast and the day's work. Professor Park, when a student at Andover, arose at 4.30 and walked with another student over Indian Ridge or through Carlton's Woods, practising elocutionary exercises in order to develop his oratorical powers. The professors were so concerned with the health of the students that in 1830 they proposed that triennially a course of lectures on "Hygeia," or "the art of preserving health," should be given by a "sober-minded and eminent physician."

The students do not seem to have been miserable, perhaps because they were seldom idle. It was the duty of the Faculty to keep them busy, and they did their duty, for they were conscientious men and themselves busy withal. A student at Andover in 1819, writing to a lady friend, describes his daily routine. "We are at present in very small business, that is, reviewing the Greek grammar. Besides this we have the Hebrew alphabet to learn. But I have quartos around me enough to frighten a very timid man out of his senses. Our living is quite as good as I expected. . . . That you may know how much a slave a man may be at Andover, if he will follow the rules adopted by the majority, I will give the order of the day. By rising at the six o'clock bell he will hardly find time to set his room in order, and attend to his private devotions, before the bell at seven calls him to prayer in the chapel. From the chapel he must go immediately to the hall and by the time

breakfast is ended, it is eight o'clock, when study hours commence and continue till twelve. Study hours again from half past one to three. Then recitation, prayer, and supper, makes it six in the afternoon. Study hours again from seven to nine leave just time enough for evening devotion before sleep. Now, my dear Seraph, if you can tell me if this is consistent with those means to preserve health, which have been said to be so abundantly used here, I will confess that your discernment far exceeds mine. For my own part I expect to become an outlaw; for I will not be so much confined. Few means are wanting to enable us to become great men; but the opportunity to kill oneself with study is rather too good."

Yet life went on then in far more leisurely fashion than it does now, and there was time for voluntary association among the students for various purposes. In the absence of organized athletics they formed their associations along the lines of their professional or religious interests. They recognized that their relation was that of brothers in a common cause. It was natural, therefore, that they should give the name Brethren to their association, a name which had belonged to the secret association of missionary students at Williams, originating in 1808—and should resolve to call one another "brethren" in all public remarks in chapel and the dining hall. About the same time they resolved that it was improper and unbecoming for any brother, a member of the institution, to sell pamphlets or books of any kind for the purpose of making money. Yet they gave an agent of the student body a commission on the purchase of books, and charged the students assessments for the running expenses of the association.

The Brethren in that same year asked the authorities for fire-fenders in their rooms; when none were forthcoming they provided their own at the suggestion of Squire Farrar. They voted to procure pails for carrying ashes to the cellars, and a week later they showed their versatility and good will by voting to print ninety catalogues "at the expense of the College," for distribution to the professors and other gentlemen, and for use at the next Anniversary. The students voted to adopt certain study hours when order and silence should

be observed. These were to be from eight to twelve in the forenoon, from two to four in the afternoon, and from seven to nine in the evening. Detailed rules were made regarding conduct, forbidding noise, laughter, and loud talking and such indoor sports as walking about for exercise or amusement, battledore, and jumping a rope. They insisted that students who injured property should pay the costs, and if the persons were unknown that the costs should be met from the treasury of the association.

On one occasion three members were appointed a committee of furniture, whether to repair damages or appraise values or replace with new furniture is not recorded. Presumably axes were for chopping wood, but one would like to know what prompted the vote to auction all the axes belonging to the school and deposit the proceeds in the treasury. Was it because they were worn out, dull, or rusted? Was it because some other means of splitting wood had been invented, or were the axes dangerous to furniture or to life? Unfortunately it was not one of the duties of the recorder to explain motives. An annual committee was appointed "to regulate the wood." Apparently there was danger that an absent-minded individual might act contrary to the common good. That the Brethren were publicly minded is clear from a vote to spend money for warming the chapel, and another to clear away stones from a place intended for a garden.

It seemed good to the members to appoint a recorder to preserve a proper record of the actions taken by the association; some of the records are unconsciously humorous. Among the first items recorded was a vote to establish a post office in the institution, to provide a letter-box "of convenient dimensions" for letters and packages destined for the mails, and to keep the key in one after another of the students' rooms, as an individual was responsible for carrying the mail. A little later it was voted to open a correspondence with theological students at Yale, and two years afterward with similar students at Union College.

An early vote of the association was that "no brother carry a light into the cellar in the evening." Again, one is curious as

to the motive. Was it wood or cider that he might be after, or was he fond of ways that were dark? Was it simply a precaution against fire? An early misfortune was the burning of one of the buildings on the Hill, and after that the Faculty made stringent fire laws, forbidding students to carry fire from one stove or hearth to another; to leave the room where there was an open fire for more than five minutes without "taking the fire down from the andirons and putting it in such a state that it cannot fall or roll out upon the hearth"; to carry out ashes at any time except in the morning and then to the proper receptacle; to read by the light of a candle in bed, or "set his candle when he retires to rest where the snuff can come in contact with any clothing or inflammable matter"; to "go into any part of the chapel or lecture rooms with a lighted cigar or smoke any tobacco in the same, nor shall he on any occasion smoke any tobacco abroad or near any of the buildings connected with the Seminary." A pail of water was to be kept in each room through the night. And a committee of safety was appointed to inspect the rooms at least three times a week. The students voted to make the Mechanical Association the fire department of the school.

CHAPTER III

STUDENTS AND FACULTY

STUDENT activities in any school are divided between tasks prescribed by the Faculty and enterprises which they undertake for themselves. Certain common interests produce group organizations. In the absence at Andover of baseball and football, tennis and golf and track athletics, physical exercise was taken individually, but musical, literary, and missionary societies were soon among the extra-curricula activities. Practice in music was not far removed from the curriculum, and after a few years the Faculty ruled that "every student, whose voice and health will permit, shall devote so much time to study and practice of sacred music, as will enable him with understanding and spirit to take an active part in sounding the high praises of God in seasons of public devotion."

A voluntary musical association was organized in 1812, and reorganized five years later, to continue for decades as the Lockhart Society for Improvement in Sacred Music. "It is proper for those who are to preside in the assemblies of God's people," said the organizers of the Society, "to possess themselves of so much skill and taste in this sublime art as at least to distinguish between those solemn movements which are congenial to pious minds, and those unhallowed, trifling medley pieces which chill devotion; it is expected that serious attention will be paid to the culture of a true taste for genuine church music in this Seminary."

The musical association stated that all students in the Seminary who had "tolerable voices" would be instructed in the theory and practice of "this celestial art," and it was expected that one of the professors, if it should be within the range of his abilities, would give the necessary instruction, or that a

special instructor would be provided for that purpose. The Seminary actually paid the expenses of musical instruction at times, usually appointing the man who had been elected the president of the association. It seems rather unreasonable to have expected any of the professors of those years to have been sufficiently proficient to become a musical coach, but the drill of the singing school, so common at that period, lent a fair presumption to the expectation.

The association at first provided for open membership, but it was that provision which seems to have brought about reorganization, for then the principle of selective membership was substituted. Either too many voices were intolerable, or not all the members took the organization seriously enough. Even after the reorganization it was necessary occasionally to use discipline. It is recorded with all seriousness that a certain brother by the name of Smith was derelict in attendance on the meetings of the Society, for it was a rule that unless the student were ill or out of town he must attend, and when the brother absented himself without permission, and without giving any reason therefor and failed to mend his ways, he was summarily "dismembered" by vote of the Society.

The records of the treasurer are sprinkled plentifully with fines of six and a quarter and twelve and a half cents imposed for tardiness, and this at a time when pennies were so scarce among the students that the Faculty was recommending to the Trustees not to lay any library fines upon them. An assessment of seventy-five cents per member provided the necessary funds for the purchase of musical collections. In the winter of 1832 an attempt was made to get Dr. Lowell Mason of Boston to deliver an address before the Society at the end of the year, but he declined on the ground that his whole time was taken up with numerous engagements. Subsequently he showed his good will by submitting a copy of his *Choir* for review by the Society, modestly suggesting that a testimonial as to its excellence would be appreciated. The book was therefore referred to the censors for their judgment, and after critical examination a resolution was sent to the composer with the cheerful recommendation of the Society to all lovers of

music and those who esteem it a privilege to aid in so interesting a part of the worship of the sanctuary. "We are enabled to do this," they said, "not only from a confidence in ye author's good taste and his complete knowledge of ye science and art of music, but from our own acquaintance with ye work. Although its music does not partake of ye grandeur of many other of ye author's productions, its melody, a quality in music much overlooked and too often sacrificed to harmony, is of a high order and we think unequalled in any collection adapted to ye use of choirs in general." In due time Mason became an official instructor of music in the Seminary.

The question of musical instruments received prolonged attention. Instead of the saxophone, the flute was in vogue, and seems to have been in steady demand. One performer was excused from attending the meetings of the Society "in consequence of his inability to play the flute so much as a constant attendance would require." The time came when the students wished to own a double bass viol. They voted to circulate a subscription through the Seminary in order to raise money; failing in this they asked for contributions from "the gentlemen on the hill," and with faith that they would have one they delegated a committee of two to get a box to keep the viol in; but at last they were compelled to resort to the treasurer of the institution, Samuel Farrar. The committee that was delegated for the purpose called upon the squire, but without much success, for it was recorded in the minutes that the committee "have for some time weekly reported progress as follows in a beautiful classical hemstitch—

'We called upon Samuel Farrar, Esquire,
We went where he was and he wasn't there!' "

Whereupon the said committee as often had leave granted them to sit again.

Not at all daunted by this frustration of their hopes, the musical brethren ambitiously resolved two years later to have an organ. They appointed an organ committee. This committee interviewed the Faculty and obtained its permission. The next thing was to find the organ and the committee was instructed to "sit farther on this business," that the "organic

affection" might be gratified. Squire Farrar of the Founders had failed them in the matter of a bass viol; for the organ they went to William Bartlet of the Associate Founders. One of the organ committee presently reported that a conversation with Mr. Bartlet had encouraged them to hope for results. The Society then voted that the committee be instructed to bring the matter before Mr. Bartlet as often and in such manner as their sense of propriety should suggest. Whether or not the suggestion was made once too often is not clear, but the conclusion of the matter was that "the venerable donor in the plenitude of his liberality" stated that he should be pleased to see an organ in the chapel if we could procure one ("what a kind, generous wish!"), but he could not do everything. Demands had recently been made upon him and he felt poor.

Though the musical ambitions of the students were thus balked, they were free to cultivate their literary talents without wind instruments. This they did through the Porter Rhetorical Society. It was a time when oratory was esteemed highly in the pulpit as on the hustings and in the halls of Congress. A well-modulated voice, a classical diction, well-rounded periods, and an irresistible peroration, brought the preacher to his conclusion as grandly as a skilful sailor handles his yacht throughout its course and brings it to the dock at exactly the end of a graceful, sweeping arc.

In the earliest years of the school the students therefore felt the desirability of organizing a society for the cultivation of the literary and oratorical art. It was fitting that they should call it a rhetorical society, since the name of the homiletical department was that of sacred rhetoric, and it was equally appropriate that they should style it the Porter Rhetorical Society in honor of the occupant of that chair. The purpose of the Society as stated in the preamble to the Constitution was "to improve themselves in sacred eloquence for the purpose of being useful to mankind." The members believed that they could gain fluency and effectiveness in speech by engaging in debates and discussions of matters of Seminary interest, and they wrote and declaimed original orations for practice in expression and delivery. The Society was large enough to

organize in three divisions, each with its own officers. Undergraduates were admitted to membership only by vote of the Society. Literary men of distinction could be elected honorary members by a three-fourths vote, and all undergraduate members became honorary members upon graduation. Each division of the Society met once a week on a mid-week evening, except on the monthly Thursday when a joint session of the divisions was held. The usual program of exercises included a fifteen-minute oration, two compositions not more than eight minutes each in length, with dialogues or debates when preferred, and extemporaneous discussion by four persons. The participants were designated by ballot and due notice was given of their appointments.

Some of the topics that were discussed reveal the subjects of interest that appealed to the student mind of 1823. "Ought there to be a new translation of the Scriptures?" If Professor Porter could have decided the question he might have agreed with Professor Stuart that the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, if not spoken in Paradise, was worthy of that honor. Why then have any translation? But if one were deemed necessary, let Professor Stuart supply the orthography and syntax and Professor Porter the rhetoric. One would like to know what conclusion was reached.

A question of perennial interest was: "Is the practice of preaching written sermons better calculated to do good than extemporaneous?" It required native gifts of oratory for the average student to do justice to this subject, but he knew that the unwritten discourse, other things being equal, was more acceptable. A more academic question was whether a professor was justifiable in joining in a dance. Since theological professors were not accustomed to indulgence, the question might sound startling, but the phrase was clarified to read a "professor of religion," which removed the Faculty from the limelight. It was more than an academic question, for in spite of their soberness of demeanor the students were human.

The members of the Society were treading on rather delicate ground when they asked: "Ought we to direct our efforts to increase the number of ministers in our country, or to raise

the standard of ministerial qualifications?" But it was understood that Andover stood for high standards. Two questions which went somewhat outside the field of Seminary concern, but were not unpractical, were: "Ought ministers to endeavor to exert a political influence?" and "Is it the duty of ministers to become Free Masons?" Perhaps it was because of the prevailing interest in missions that they discussed: "Has the influence of the British government in India been beneficial to the latter?" That they were not oblivious to American affairs is plain, for they debated: "Whether on the supposition that the allied powers interfere in relation to South America, it would be the best policy for this country to unite with England in opposition?" If they could have known how prominent a place the Monroe Doctrine would come to have in the foreign policy of the United States, they would have thrown the discussion open to the public.

Ten years later the temperance agitation had begun, and the Porter Rhetorical Society discussed practical methods of promoting sobriety under the topic: "Ought the use of fermented liquors as a drink to be prohibited by the temperance pledge?" Not all promoters of temperance believed in the pledge method, or even in total abstinence, and a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States had not been thought of. The last meeting in 1832 brought out lively interest in the question whether the Union should coerce a state that was determined to secede from it, a subject of keen interest when South Carolina was threatening nullification of federal law. But the students must have entered with even more zest into the question whether it is expedient to settle ministers for life, and especially: "Is it expedient for a theological student to enter into matrimonial engagements previously to the commencement of his second year at a seminary, supposing him to spend three years getting his profession?"

The usefulness of the Society was not limited to the presentation of solutions for these knotty problems. It maintained a library of hundreds of volumes for the use of its members, and it became an important adjunct of the Commencement exercises. An annual celebration of the Society occurred on

the day preceding the Anniversaries, with an oration from an honorary member, a humbler declamation, and a poem not less than fifteen minutes in length by members of the Society. The participants were selected by ballot, and it was understood that all topics were to be of a religious nature. It came to be a regular feature of Anniversary week that the Porter and Lockhart Societies should give a joint exhibition, and the occasions brought out large audiences.

For the encouragement of literary appreciation the students organized the Review Association in 1818. Subsequently this was renamed the Bartlet Athenæum. It was considered at first to be an experiment, but it soon showed enough value to warrant its being made permanent. It was the hope of the members to cultivate literary taste and enjoyment, as well as to extend their information by subscribing for a few of the best periodicals of the time. The literature was kept as a nucleus of a library. According to the original constitution the number of members was limited to twelve, six to be from the junior class and three each from the middle and senior classes. A certain ratio of membership must be preserved from different colleges; there must be no academic cliques. The annual fee was set at two dollars and a half. As soon as it was possible to find a suitable reading-room it was desirable that more literature should be obtained, so that the number of members was enlarged and the annual fee was dropped to one dollar. Every member of the Association was expected to solicit donations of books or money, and the donor's name was placed in the books. After a few years the Association voted that if any person should be so generous as to give a present of fifty dollars to the Association it would change its name to the donor's Athenæum. When it found permanent quarters in Bartlet Chapel, it changed its name to the Bartlet Athenæum, another reminder of the Newburyport philanthropist, even though there was no organ to sound his praises.

In the early days one of the members was chosen librarian, and it was his duty to be curator of the literature, to keep open house in his room for two hours at noon to the members, and to make loans of periodicals to members in their

alphabetical order for a term not exceeding three days. At the first annual meeting it was voted to subscribe the next year for the *Edinburgh Review,* the *London Quarterly Review,* and the *North American Review.* With the new reading-room available it was decided to keep quarters open whenever attendance was not required at a Seminary appointment.

The activity of the Association was not limited to maintaining a library and reading-room. The constitution was revised in 1819, and a by-law was adopted that senior members in the course of the year should each review a single publication at a meeting of the society. The approval of the Faculty was asked for the revised constitution, the preamble of which read grandiloquently: "Desirous of knowing the present state of the civil, literary, and moral world; and believing this knowledge to be acquired with the greatest facility by the perusal of the best periodical publications; we, the subscribers, form ourselves into a society." One wonders if the style of language improved or if the Faculty pruned the sentence, for when another revision of the constitution was made ten years later the preamble had shrunk to: "For the purpose of having access to the current intelligence of the day, we, the subscribers, form ourselves into a society."

It does not appear that time improved the morals and manners of the students, or else it was unfortunate that the society had admitted too many honorary members, for it became advisable to add to the list of officers a sheriff and four constables. Fines had been imposed for taking literature from the room of the society; now the penalty of expulsion was affixed to the rules, and the law was evidently to be put into force. The last of several resolutions adopted in 1829 was that whenever the president of the Athenæum should learn that publications were missing from the reading-room, he should immediately lock the door and give information to the high sheriff, who should forthwith make diligent search for them.

These by-products of education were not permitted to obscure the regular obligations of students to their academic tasks. Much of the reading of the students was under Faculty direction, and at least once a year the student must report

his reading and pass an examination on the opinions and arguments of the principal writers whom he studied. He was examined also on his biblical readings in the original languages of the Old and New Testaments, including the Septuagint.

The main business of the students was transacted with theological books and teachers. Early Andover had a Faculty whose prescribed duty it was "to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge, to direct pupils in their inquiries after sacred truth, to guard them against religious error, and to accelerate their acquisition of heavenly wisdom." Men who had the self-confidence to accept places on the Andover Faculty needed to be endowed generously with the heavenly graces. They were required to have faith in divine revelation, and hold to "one living and true God and the Word of God, the only perfect rule of faith and practice," and they were reminded expressly "that God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, unchanging, in being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth, and that the Godhead exists in three persons." And then they were confronted with the Andover Creed.

The selection of the first Faculty was a serious undertaking, because the quality of the teaching would set a standard of scholarship for the institution. It was fortunate that Pearson and Woods were well-qualified teachers. Eliphalet Pearson was a learned man, with an extensive knowledge of educational matters acquired from his connection with Harvard. It was he who largely determined the range of studies in the Andover curriculum, and established the high intellectual standards for which Andover became noted. He had a wide acquaintance with men and a practical ability to make a project successful. He was active in founding education, mission, and temperance societies. He was the first president of the Board of Trustees after the Seminary was started, and he retained the position for nineteen years, even during the year when he was a professor. But the qualities that had made him a successful principal of the Academy and an acceptable professor at Harvard did not fit so well the temper of a theological school and he resigned the year after the Seminary opened, though he lived fifteen years longer.

Leonard Woods was a much younger man than Pearson, born the year after Pearson graduated from Harvard. After his graduation from college he studied divinity with Dr. Charles Backus of Somers, Connecticut. He was attracted to a teaching position in the new school because of its possibility of wide influence, though the number of students was quite uncertain, and his initial salary was only one thousand dollars, for which he was expected to give some instruction in church history as well as in theology. Once in the Faculty he reconciled the two schools of thought represented in the Seminary as far as possible. In the classroom he had the reputation of being lucid in exposition, thorough in his study, and careful in the presentation of his thought. He charged his pupils to keep close to the Bible as the test of doctrine, for he believed that it was the immediate gift of the Holy Spirit, and so infallible and of divine authority. He was equally sure that Calvinism was essential to the prosperity of church and nation, and that a theological school with any other system of doctrine would be a curse rather than a blessing. It is symbolic of Andover's staunch theology that the first book to be drawn from the Seminary library was a volume of the works of Jonathan Edwards. That Professor Woods was loyal to the Hopkinsian principle that one should be willing to be damned for the glory of God, appears when on the occasion of the birth of his fifth child he was in doubt whether he ought to ask God to save all his children.

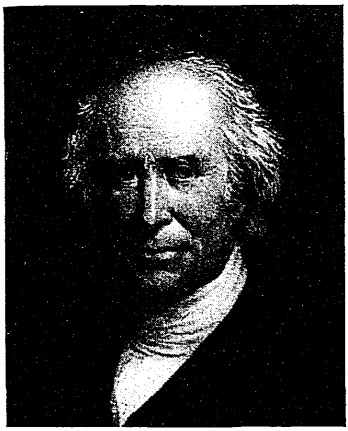
That the Calvinistic theology did not breed hardness of heart is plain from the kindness and affection which Woods showed in his domestic life, and in his patience and sympathy with his friends and students. But Calvinism was a militant faith and it bred theological warriors. Andover professors were expected to train their guns of orthodoxy against error, whether within or outside the walls of embattled Zion, and the Andover professor was not strange to theological warfare. In his Commencement oration at Harvard Woods had eulogized "the brave soldiers who fought against the tyranny of the schools, conquered the powerful forces of that despot, prejudice, and established the liberty of reason." But that did

not make him tolerant. In the very same oration he denounced the Catholic system and the injury that it had done to the Italians, saying: "The popes, those holy thieves, those pensioners of Satan, have exhausted your wealth and vigor, and now on their dying beds, bequeath you nothing but sensuality, superstition and ignorance." Once in the saddle at Andover he engaged in jousts with the Edwardeans at Yale and the Unitarians in the old Puritan citadel of Harvard.

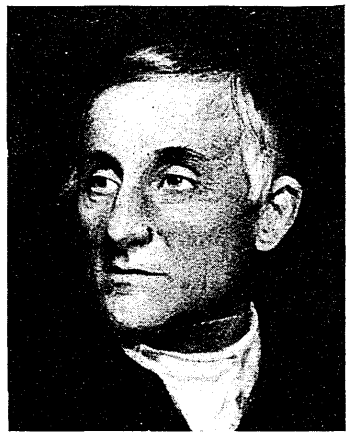
He was enjoined by the Andover Constitution to lecture on divine revelation, on biblical inspiration as proved by miracle and prophecy, and by internal evidence and historical facts; on the great doctrines and duties of religion, and the refutation of objections, "more particularly on the revered character of God"; on the fall of man and human depravity, the nature of grace and the atonement of Christ; the Holy Spirit; the Scriptural doctrines of regeneration, justification, sanctification, repentance, faith, and obedience; on the future state; on the positive institutions of Christianity; and on the nature and interpretation of prophecy.

With the emphasis on dogma and polemics it might seem unlikely that these doughty theologians would be spiritual guides as well as warriors, but both Woods and Stuart felt that it was an important part of their obligation to converse with individual students on their state of religion. Against the judgment of Pearson, Woods originated a Wednesday evening conference for the fostering of personal piety. All the students were expected to attend, and either Woods or Stuart met them, and prayed and conversed for an hour in a practical way on the whole range of Christian doctrine. Professor Stuart late in life expressed the belief that the Wednesday evening conferences were the most valuable contribution that he had made to the Seminary. Group prayer meetings were frequent, and a general prayer meeting of the whole school was held once a month, at which the students prayed for the colleges from which they had come. The Seminary conference was transformed later into the prayer meeting of the Seminary church.

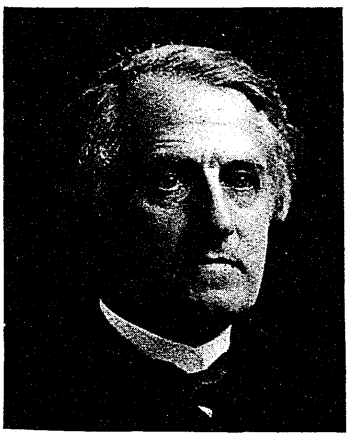
Professor Woods lived until 1854, dying in the full maturity



LEONARD WOODS



MOSES STUART



AUSTIN PHELPS

EDWARDS A. PARK

of his fourscore years. He was mourned universally, as he was laid to rest in the Chapel Cemetery. That plot of ground had been set aside by the Trustees in 1810 as a burying ground for those who were connected with the two schools. It was east of the campus, and as the years passed the funeral processions were many. Students who died before the completion of their studies, professors and members of their families, trustees, and members of the Academy, there found their earthly rest. It has been remarked that there are more brains to the square foot in Chapel Cemetery at Andover than in any similar plot of ground in America. In 1872 a Cemetery Association was organized to care for the grounds, and this was incorporated thirty-five years later.

The third professor to be inducted into office was Edward Dorr Griffin. Griffin was the leader of his class of 1790 at Yale, and then studied theology with Jonathan Edwards, Jr. William Bartlet had made provision for a professorship of sacred rhetoric as well as of sacred literature, and when the time came for the choice of an incumbent attention turned to the man who for eight years had been pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey. Bartlet again exercised his power of appointment to the chair, which then bore the title of Public Eloquence. Griffin was appointed in 1808, but did not come to Andover to begin his duties until the next year. For a time it was uncertain whether he would accept. The salary offered was not attractive, and he enjoyed his ministry in Newark. He liked the inspiration of large audiences, and Andover did not give much scope for showing his possession of the eloquence which he was expected to teach. He wrote to Woods that, while the quiet atmosphere of the New England village might suit the other professors, for him "it would want those excitements which would be essential to the professor of pulpit eloquence."

At the same time that Griffin was being sought for the Seminary, Park Street Church in Boston looked in his direction. The church on Brimstone Corner was just being launched as a defence of orthodoxy in a town where all but one among the old Congregational churches had become Unitarian, and

it needed a brilliant preacher to give it standing in the community. The Newark minister believed that he could combine his teaching at Andover with his preaching in Boston, and so overcame his reluctance for the professorship alone. He was worth having for Andover on any terms, and Bartlet recognized that fact by building him the best professor's house in the village. His people "wept a week," so Griffin wrote to Woods when he left Newark, but he admitted that there were some sons of Belial among them whose malice was "scarcely exceeded by that of the lower world."

The new professor was inaugurated with much ceremony on the twenty-first of June, 1809. Dr. Spring preached a sermon, and Dr. Griffin delivered his inaugural address. After the services were concluded, "the Trustees, Visitors, professors, clergy, musicians, and gentlemen in public office, preceded by the students of the Theological Institution, walked in procession from the church to the hall of the Academy, where with social and cheerful feelings, they partook of the bounties of Providence."

It was the duty of the Department of Public Eloquence to see that the students were instructed adequately on the importance of oratory; on elegance, composition, and dignity of style; on pronunciation, voice, and gesture, but withal a preservation of a natural manner. Yet it was regarded as highly important that a speaker should be a finished pulpit orator. Methods of putting together a sermon, of the style and character of the discourses of the most eminent divines which were used as models, and of strengthening the memory, were taught faithfully. Above all, the student must be impressed with "the transcendent simplicity and beauty of the Sacred Writings."

Griffin's reputation as an orator seems not to have been exaggerated. Dr. Spring felt his competition and the spell of his superb presence, for Dr. Griffin stood six feet three inches tall. Spring wrote to Dr. Morse of Charlestown: "Alas! Alas! what a mammoth of an orator we had along. . . . I have had thoughts of holding my own in the pulpit, but if we do not confine the monster within the four walls of the institution, all will be up with poor me. . . . I can bear tolerably well to

be equalled when I feel good; but to be so astonishingly outdone—it is too much for flesh and blood and my common share of humility. What say you, sir, must we not slip our cables and get out of the harbor as soon as we can?" Daniel Webster, who went to hear the distinguished preacher, said: "If you are going the same way with the lightning, it won't hurt you; but if not, you had better keep out of its way."

William Bartlet was not in sympathy with the Park Street arrangement, and tried to make Dr. Griffin contented at Andover. Griffin tried to fulfil the obligations of both of his positions, and he showed unusual adaptability as a professor. In his class, as he was about to criticise a student sermon, he would remark in kindly fashion: "Young gentlemen, we have met to criticise a sermon, and all feelings are to be laid aside at the seeming severity of remarks which may follow." Then, says the chronicler, "the poor sermon shrivelled up . . . until its parched remains rustled away upon the adverse gale, and men saw them no more." The commuting distance to Boston proved too great in the days of stagecoaches and horse-drawn chaises, and Griffin reached the conclusion that Boston had the more attractive claim. In 1811, therefore, he ended his brief professional career at Andover, and it was necessary to look for another instructor.

Dr. Griffin did not continue to find full satisfaction in Boston. His theological outlook as a conservative Presbyterian did not fully harmonize with Boston orthodoxy, and the Second Presbyterian Church in Newark was wooing him back to that city. In 1815 he preached his last sermon at Park Street from the text: "The return of the dove to the ark, having no rest elsewhere." Even then he did not remain fixed, for Williams College called him to its presidency after six years, and there he remained until a few months before his death in 1837.

Before Dr. Griffin had severed his connections with the Seminary, a fourth professor was in the offing. A successor to Dr. Pearson was needed. For that purpose Dr. Spring visited New Haven and listened to the preaching of Moses Stuart, pastor since 1806 of the First Church in that city. At

the age of thirty he was esteemed highly in Connecticut. He had been born in 1780, had been educated at Yale, and after three years in the study of law had been admitted to the bar. But his purpose changed, and after a period of theological study with President Dwight he was ordained in 1806 and became pastor of the First Church in New Haven. When Dr. Spring inquired tentatively as to Stuart's abilities, Dwight replied that he was a very able man, but he could not be spared. Spring replied at once that that was the kind of a man that Andover wanted.

Stuart came to Andover to lecture on the form, the preservation and the transmission of the Bible; on the original languages, including the Septuagint version; on the history, character, and authority of other versions and manuscripts; on the authenticity of Scripture; on the Apocrypha; on modern translations; on the canons of biblical criticism; and on the various readings and difficult passages in the Bible.

It seems odd that a man should have been selected for the chair of sacred literature who knew neither Hebrew nor German. Yet Stuart soon showed ability to make good his deficiencies and to prove himself a fortunate addition to the Faculty. At the fiftieth anniversary of the Seminary, Leonard Bacon said of Stuart: "It was his teaching and his influence that gave celebrity to Andover as a seat of sacred learning." It was because of this that he became recognized as the prince of biblical learning in America. It was he who set the standards and fixed the methods of biblical study for the next generation, for he remained at his post in Andover for thirty-eight years until 1848. Men who sat at his feet went to imitate him in their teaching at other seminaries, not only in the Bible, but in the classics as well, for his sound philological methods gained general approval. Elijah Kellogg was professor of Greek at Williams for nearly thirty years, Nathan W. Fiske filled a similar chair at Amherst, as did James Torrey at the University of Vermont, and Samuel P. Newman at Bowdoin. Irah Chase graduated from Andover in 1817, and went to Columbian College at Washington, D. C., to be professor of biblical literature for seven years, and then helped to found

the Newton Theological Institution and was its first professor of biblical literature. Newton went to Andover again for her second professor, Henry J. Ripley, of the class of 1819. The imprint of Stuart's mind was felt still farther afield, for Miron Winslow, class of 1818, translated the Bible into the Tamil tongue of India and compiled a Tamil-English lexicon, and Samuel A. Worcester, class of 1823, translated parts of the Bible into the language of the Cherokees in America, setting an example to other missionaries.

Dr. Stuart had the diligence and patience to become a master of Hebrew, and a commentator who was regarded by a large circle of ministers as an authoritative interpreter. He was exact and thorough as a scholar, patient and enthusiastic as a teacher, believing uncompromisingly in the Scripture as the divine Word. He was eager to meet the controversialist, vigorously defending his own positions, but he was open-minded. He improved every opportunity to gain familiarity with German thought and language, even on his journeys, and he became acquainted with German scholarship as few men of his time could boast. He introduced his students to modern critical literature in German, to the alarm of certain conservative brethren, but he was admired and trusted by his pupils, and he was popular because of his earnestness and his pleasantries in the classroom. He was a doughty opponent in debate with the Unitarians. He wrote letters to William Ellery Channing, which, when published, made plain his orthodox position, and relieved the concern of those who feared his liking for German literature. He issued an exhaustive statement on the Trinity which seemed to his friends to answer satisfactorily the criticisms of Channing.

Allen W. Dodge, a pupil of Stuart, testified to his teaching power. Stuart would say to his students: "Don't be discouraged, young men, don't get mired in the Slough of Despond." He made interesting the monotonous task of teaching the Hebrew grammar, and "the Bible, under his keen and inspiring investigations, seemed to glow with new light and beauty."

Stuart's diligence and intrepidity were the more remarkable

because he suffered much from ill health. Indigestion and sleeplessness bothered him, but he studied his own deficiencies, and he did not hesitate to pass on his conclusions to the students. He lectured to them at the beginning of the school year, telling them to go to bed at ten o'clock and rise at five, and prescribing their diet, exercise, and study, advising them to make notes of their food and its effects, and so by experiment to learn what to eat. When he was ill with typhoid fever and a student was watching with him at night, the professor had him read aloud a monograph on the disease, and he was especially interested in the novel idea that the patient might have all the cold drinks he desired. He had his own notions of hygiene. He would come into a stuffy classroom warmed by a stove, and throw cold water on the stove until the room was filled with steam, on the theory that the moisture would carry off the superfluous heat through the walls.

Andover was a rural town, and in those days it was not above a professor's dignity to hoe his garden, milk his cow, and cut his own hay. More than one of the professors was glad to use student assistance at haying time. Francis Wayland, later the well-known president of Brown University, related how one day Stuart closed his class early with an invitation to the students to join him in the hayfield. They turned out generously to his aid. The crop was poor, and as Wayland was raking beside the professor, Stuart berated the soil, which in spite of his best efforts yielded only mediocre crops. "Bah!" said he, "was there ever climate and soil like this? . . . If you plant early, everything is liable to be cut off by the late frosts of spring. If you plant late, your crop is destroyed by the early frosts of autumn. If you escape these, the burning sun of summer scorches your crop, and it perishes by heat and drought. If none of these evils overtake you, clouds of insects eat up your crop, and what the caterpillar leaves the canker-worm destroys." Said Wayland: "Spoken in his deliberate and solemn utterance, I could compare it to nothing but the maledictions of one of the old prophets."

Moses Stuart never relaxed in his earnest search for truth. He was honored for his scholarship abroad as well as at home,

yet he took time for the students. For years he divided the responsibilities of the Wednesday evening conference with Dr. Woods. He was the inspiration of nearly forty classes of students. Year after year he walked back and forth between his home on Main Street and the buildings of the Seminary, alone with his thoughts, yet, so writes his daughter in "Old Andover Days," "in the silence and solitude through which he walked hearing and recognizing the song of every bird that carolled on the trees, noting the changes in the elms which he had loved ever since he had seen the tiny twig planted in the rough, new ground; watching through the brief summer days for the flowers that sometimes dotted his path; overlooking no slightest thing in earth or sky that God has given." He lived until 1852.

One other name belongs in the roster of the early professors. This was Ebenezer Porter. A graduate of Dartmouth in 1792, he studied divinity with Dr. John Smalley of Berlin, Connecticut. He had been minister of the Congregational church in Washington, Connecticut, for five years, when he was selected by the Board of Trustees to succeed Dr. Griffin as professor of sacred rhetoric. He was inaugurated in 1812. He had a charming personality attractive to students. He was kindly, even in his class criticisms, of their crude homiletical achievements. Slight in frame, he lacked the physique and vigor of Griffin, and his health was never robust. For that reason the students cheerfully shoveled snow paths for him in winter, and mowed his hay in summer. In his study he was methodical, and so diligent as to injure his health. He wrote with careful choice of language, and in his lectures he guarded against emphasizing doctrine or even biblical lore above the value of a living faith. He was punctilious in his observance of the rules of gentlemanly conduct, and he insisted on such observance from his students when they met in official relations. He even gave instructions to the members of each junior class how they should enter his study. Dr. Porter declined an invitation to the presidency of the University of Vermont three years after he had come to Andover, and the next year he refused a similar offer from the University of Georgia. The

following year he was elected professor of divinity at Yale, and later Hamilton, Middlebury, and Dartmouth all sought him for the presidency. Perhaps these successive calls decided the Trustees to create the office of president of the Seminary, and to elect Dr. Porter to fill the position in 1827. Four years later he resigned his professorship, but retained the presidency until his death in 1834. The inscription on his monument in Chapel Cemetery concludes a description of his virtues with the words: "Living he was peculiarly loved and revered; Dying, he was universally lamented."

The duties of the professors started early in the day. Morning chapel service was fixed by the Trustees at seven o'clock for the beginning of the winter term, with a change of fifteen minutes every two weeks as the sun rose earlier, until by the first of March the hour was to be at six o'clock. The members of the Faculty found compulsory attendance as early in the day as that to be irksome, especially those who did not enjoy good health. Dr. Spring must have known the failings of the original professors, because when he tried to raise five hundred dollars for a chapel bell, and negotiated with Paul Revere for it, he remarked humorously that the bell would wake up "sleepy, lazy professors, who love a morning bed." As early as 1811 they claimed the right of infrequent attendance upon morning prayers, saying: "We have habitually attended the evening devotions of our Seminary in the chapel, but have not found it practicable, connected as we are with families, to attend in the morning without neglecting our own households."

One lecture was delivered daily to each class. The morning lectures came at ten o'clock, the afternoon lectures at half-past three. There were no lectures Monday forenoon or Saturday afternoon. By 1825 the Faculty asked the Trustees to be relieved from the responsibility of constant attendance, and a special committee of the Trustees was appointed on the matter. The committee presently reported that the statutes and laws of the school required the professors to attend both morning and evening chapel, and in their opinion no other duty in the Seminary ought to have precedence over the chapel services. If a professor on account of bodily indisposition should

find it ordinarily impossible to attend, he should ask the Trustees to be excused by special vote during the indisposition. Another committee's report on the same subject was accepted, to the effect that it was not the imperative duty of all the professors to attend morning and evening prayers simultaneously, but "to increase the reverence due to religious institutions as well as to give weight to public instruction it is expected that all the professors frequent the chapel at morning and evening prayers." Professors Woods, Stuart, and Porter filed requests to be excused in spite of these injunctions, but while the Trustees did not refuse they emphasized again the importance of attending morning as well as evening prayers, and "expected that the professors will attend morning and evening prayers whenever the providence of God shall permit," as if this did not put a good deal of responsibility on divine providence.

The professors were scrupulous in meeting their class obligations, which were not heavy. The methods of class instruction were conservative. The professor depended on his lecture to inform the student and to stimulate his thought. There was freedom of discussion and opportunity for the student to read various opinions in the library, but the professor's own system of thought or teaching was supposed to be superior to others. It remained an accepted principle of the Seminary instruction that the main consideration of the first year should be the study of biblical languages and literature, that the second year should be devoted almost entirely to theology, and that the third year should provide training in homiletics. This arrangement gave to each professor an opportunity to monopolize the attention of the student during his allotted time. During the reign of the triumvirate, Woods, Stuart, and Porter, this general scheme was modified slightly, but as late as 1839 the curriculum of the Junior class was: Stuart's Hebrew Grammar; Chrestomathy; written exercises, including translations from English into Hebrew; study of the Hebrew Bible; the principles of Hermeneutics; New Testament Greek and exegesis of the Four Gospels; lectures preparatory to the study of theology; natural theology; evi-

dences of Revelation; inspiration of the Scriptures; Hebrew exegesis; Greek; Pauline epistles twice a week; criticism and exegetical compositions.

The Middle class met five days a week for instruction in Christian theology. Compositions on the principal topics of theology were examined in private. Exegesis of the New Testament was continued once a week, to keep the student in training, and there was instruction on special topics in sacred literature. It was natural enough that so much attention should be given to theology. The Congregational and Presbyterian churches were indoctrinated in Calvinism to such a degree that a minister needed to be a master. He was expected to preach doctrinal sermons, and he must be ready to defend the faith against all comers. Always there was danger that the emphasis upon sound doctrine in the Seminary should divert chief attention from religion itself to the science of religion. This was counteracted by the religious influence of the professors and particularly by the Wednesday evening conferences, by Sunday worship, and by the mutual fellowship of the students.

The Senior class had as the major part of the curriculum lectures on the philosophy of rhetoric, sermons, and the preparation of their own, with criticism from the professor of sacred rhetoric both in public and in private. But lectures on the history of Christian doctrine kept up the study of theology, and critical and exegetical lectures on the Hebrew and Greek Testaments still had a place. For all classes there was public declamation once a week, and private lessons in elocution. Lectures on the Apocalypse were given every three years, that each generation of Seminary students might know how to interpret that puzzling Scripture.

The climax of the scholastic year came at the Anniversaries, when every class was examined publicly before the assembled Trustees, Visitors, and the public, both lay and clerical, who packed the available space in Bartlet Chapel. Many persons stood throughout the exercises; some could not get into the chapel at all. The crowds were so large that the sheriff and the constable were requested to aid in preserving order. The

Junior class was examined in Hebrew and Old Testament and New Testament Criticism, the Middle class exhibited essays on theological subjects, the Seniors exhibited similar essays and were examined in sacred rhetoric. The examinations were thorough. Professor Park's examination in theology is known to have lasted all day. But they did not include all the subjects that had been discussed during the year. A student had a chance to distinguish himself before an appreciative audience, or he might get a reputation that injured him for years to come. The exercises closed with an address from a member of the Senior class. The written papers that were submitted were considered worth preserving in the Library.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE DECADES

AFTER 1830 New England was feeling the groundswell of a movement that was making inroads into the conservative traditions of Puritan days. Changes were coming politically, socially, economically, and religiously.

With the election of Andrew Jackson as President the common folk came to a realization of their power. Theoretical democracy became actual democracy. Federalist traditions had lingered longest in New England. Until 1833 Congregationalism maintained a place of privilege, but though social prestige remained, equality of all denominations before the law was realized in that year. The industrial revolution had gripped the rising cities of the lower Merrimac valley. Though the south village of Andover remained unchanged, the industries of North Andover and the mills of Lawrence were so near that her citizens could not remain oblivious to the changes that were taking place. With a rapidly increasing population, New England was sending her sons to the West to be pioneers like their colonial ancestors, and home mission societies were organizing to take care of their religious needs. The application of steam to railway and river travel facilitated the movement of the population, and people became less provincial as their contacts widened.

New England retained the intellectual leadership of the country, and deemed it a privilege to teach manners and morals, politics and religion, to the less favored. This attitude of superiority was resented at times, but the general acceptance of New England's intellectual precedence gave her schools a prestige that was greatly to their advantage. Harvard attracted students from everywhere; Phillips Academy had achieved a reputation as a preparatory school; Andover

Seminary enjoyed a growing popularity and received an increasing number of students from the South and the Middle West. Before 1840 the school reached its maximum of attendance, one hundred and sixty-four.

Imagine Bartlet Chapel in Andover on a Sunday morning about 1830. Over the community brooded the quiet that was characteristic of the Puritan Sabbath, but a specially solemn hush rested upon the Hill. In the homes of the faithful the preparation began the evening before, even the morning before, when the school lessons of the professors' children were taken from the Bible and the Westminster Catechism, and hymns were taught and sung. The teacher then prayed until the stroke of twelve. Respite until sunset and to bed by nine o'clock. Nine o'clock on Sunday morning saw the children on their way across the Common to Sunday School in the schoolhouse, where students served an apprenticeship as teachers. At the tolling of the bell for morning worship the children were marched back of the Seminary to the chapel, following the superintendent and accompanied by the teachers, while their elders were making their way to the same goal.

All moved reverently as they entered the building and took their places. In the summer soft breezes were wafted through the open windows, but in the winter the room was chilly. It was heated by a single wood stove, which the sexton stoked frequently from the woodbox which was on the other side of the pulpit. The heat radiated from the long pipes which ran around the chapel. The bare blue walls and yellowish galleries did not give one the impression of the beauty of holiness. The stovepipes and the wood crackling in the stove were suggestive of unpleasant thoughts to sensitive souls which were conscious of faults that deserved eternal punishment, unless the divine mercy assured one a place among the elect. Bare floors matched the bare walls. Yellow pews added nothing attractive to the *ensemble*.

One can picture to himself the appearance of some of the professors' pews. The front pew in Professors' Row was occupied by Dr. Porter. He is described as a tall, slight man—it used to be said that no man less than six feet tall could expect

appointment to the Andover Faculty—dignified, yet kindly, with a large head covered with stiff gray hair, and with a pale face. He was distinguished by a yellow bandana handkerchief which he wore around his neck. He was not physically strong and had to husband his strength, but when possible he and his fragile wife were in their places on Sunday. Next was the pew of Professor Woods. He had the reputation of being the best-looking man on the Faculty. Tall and inclining to stoutness, with high forehead and rather delicate features and blue eyes, his whole presence breathed distinction whether he stood or sat. The children rather feared him because he was called "Old School," though they did not understand what it meant. In his relations to the students he was kind and generous, in his family a model husband to an invalid wife; he was considerate even towards the Unitarians, with whom he was brought into controversy. Because of these qualities he was respected and admired through the long years of his active service in the Seminary.

Professor Stuart occupied the third pew. His daughter, writing of him as he appeared in the chapel, says: "Four-fifths of the year he carried his long blue cloak on his arm to church. Spreading it carefully over the back of the pew, and sitting on it, he was a most attentive but at the same time a most restless listener. To keep still seemed to be a physical impossibility for him. If the sermon was poor his impatience showed itself in shrugs, in opening and shutting his large white hands, in moving in his seat, and in a lengthened face pitiable to see. If it was good, no one doubted his appreciation, or the social feeling which made him wish to share his enjoyment. At the utterance of any especially pertinent remark, he would often rise in his seat, and turning round upon the young men, his students, draw his red silk handkerchief across his mouth several times, expressing in every feature the keenness of his pleasure. If he differed theologically from the sentiments uttered, no words could have expressed his dissent more strongly than did his looks and gestures."

One can imagine the preacher flanked by such appreciative or critical hearers on one side, and on the other by John Adams,

principal of the Academy, and such substantial citizens as Samuel Farrar, and wonder if he did not feel trepidation as he faced his audience, even though his discourse had been carefully prepared and written. It is unnecessary to remark that students and Faculty children were respectful in their attitude, and dutifully and silently wended their way out of the sacred precincts at the close of worship. It was the custom for the occupants of each pew to wait their turn, as the congregation retired, beginning with the students nearest the door.

During vacation at the Seminary the families of the Faculty attended the village church. The children found the change a welcome novelty. Sitting in the gallery, they could nod recognition or send a voiceless message to a friend across the meetinghouse. One service was not deemed respectful enough to the Almighty or sufficient for the needs of the soul. After a two-hour intermission, "with a cold dinner and a pious book" at the noon-house, they gathered again for afternoon worship.

Although the Seminary and Academy were a part of the South Parish, and the meetinghouse was used by them on special occasions, the educational institutions were a unit in themselves, and it seemed wise to the Trustees as early as 1815 to form a separate church organization with Sunday worship in Bartlet Chapel on the Hill. The church was to be under the direction of the Trustees, and the professors of the Seminary were "colleague pastors" of the church without salary. The faculties of both schools and their families, together with the student bodies, made up the regular constituency of the church. Students might transfer membership to the Seminary church from their home churches. A number of the residents in the vicinity liked to attend the services of worship and were admitted to "occasional communion," as "under the watch of the church." All persons who became members of the church subscribed to the confession of faith and covenant which had been adopted. The confession was not so rigid a document as the Creed of the Seminary. The first to sign the confession and the covenant were the three members of the Faculty, Professors Porter, Woods, and Stuart. Samuel Farrar was one of the first deacons.

At the outset the church was grounded on the Cambridge Platform, "in matter, form and discipline," and elders as well as deacons were chosen to perform the duties as described in that Platform. The Congregational churches of Massachusetts, however, had moved away from that semi-presbyterian arrangement, and it was not likely to survive at Andover. A disturbance arose in 1832 when a student with a sensitive conscience expressed dissatisfaction with the existing order. He affirmed that the polity of the church was not strictly congregational, and insisted on withdrawing from membership. The church resented his attitude, but as he severed his connection there was nothing to do. Twenty-seven years later the church was reorganized on a more congregational basis. Since the original church never had been constituted by act of a council of neighboring Congregational churches, it was free to dissolve and reconstitute itself by transferring its members to the new organization. The Faculty of the Seminary was authorized to give letters of dismissal. It is rather surprising that a training school for the Congregational ministry should have been so irregular in its organization, but it is to be remembered that Presbyterian students as well as Congregational were in attendance, and that when Congregationalists went outside New England they usually joined Presbyterian churches.

When the Seminary church was organized it found accommodations for worship in the original chapel in Phillips Hall. After the erection of Bartlet Chapel the Sunday exercises naturally were transferred to the new quarters. There they remained until the new chapel was built in 1875. That building, erected by general subscription, and costing fifty thousand dollars, was dedicated "for the Sunday worship of the chapel, church, and congregation."

The great occasion of the Seminary year was Commencement. Coming later in the summer than now, it was no less the culmination of the school year. With fewer occasions to command popular interest than at the present time, and with full appreciation of the splendor and dignity of Commencement Week at Harvard, the people of Andover and the con-

stituency of the school made elaborate plans and looked forward with eager anticipation to the Day of days. As if Thanksgiving were approaching for the farmer's wife, a bustle of preparation permeated the homes of those who expected to keep open house. The country was scoured for provisions, and additional help was arranged for with those convenient persons who were willing to accommodate. Gardens were groomed and lawns were trimmed. Pantries groaned with good things. All available space was set aside for visitors, and the boys of the family found a bed in a hay-loft of the barn. Meantime hopes that had been cherished for months in rural manses approached fruition. Ministers' families put by small sums, as one might save for a European voyage, that the alumnus might visit again his fostering mother, and catch inspiration enough to carry him through another year of a long pastorate. Then when the time arrived, watchers along the road saw the four-horse stagecoaches loaded with human freight, and looked with eager interest at the one-horse chaises and the dominie with his saddle-bags urging his horse towards the goal. Services a-plenty kept the visitors busy. On Monday evening came the public meeting of the Society of Inquiry. Tuesday brought the public examinations of the classes, which served the double purpose of testing the intelligence of the students and the skill and orthodoxy of the Faculty. On the evening of the same day occurred the public speaking of the members of the Porter Rhetorical Society. All the year they had given utterance to eloquent orations, engaged in debates, and occasionally invited the muse of poetry. This night brought the coveted opportunity to display talents which might command an invitation to an enviable position in a prominent pulpit. Wednesday the throng crowded into Bartlet Chapel, shared in the dignified program, and witnessed the conferring of final honors. A large tea party afterwards gave opportunity for goodbyes, and then the vehicles, public and private, carried the visitors away in a cloud of dust.

Punctuated by these exercises at seasonable intervals, Seminary life went on from year to year with little excitement. Carlyle's remark that records are not expansive in time of

peace seems to have been true at Andover. Classes came and went. Some of the professors outlasted many student generations; for others the terms of office were short.

The annual catalogues serve as an index to the official relations of the school. The increase in the number of students was rapid until by 1822 there were one hundred and thirty-two in attendance, classified as thirty-one seniors, thirty-five middlers, and sixty-one juniors. In that year the broadside lists that had served for catalogues were abandoned for an eight-page catalogue, in which dormitory rooms were listed for the first time. Slowly the number of pages in the catalogue increased as it became desirable to publish the expenses and terms of admission. It was announced that the Seminary was open to all Protestants who were qualified by character, college education, church membership, and recommendations from two reliable persons. The catalogue in 1838 contained a reprint of the annual examinations in sacred literature, Christian theology, and sacred rhetoric as they had been given in each of the preceding ten years.

In the catalogue for 1823 appear the names of Professors Porter, Woods, Murdock, and Stuart, as the Faculty, and a group of five men as resident licentiates, including Edward Robinson, assistant instructor in the department of sacred literature, Leonard Bacon, the later historian, and George Dana Boardman, prominent as a missionary.

James Murdock was the first incumbent of the chair of ecclesiastical history, which had been established by Moses Brown of Newburyport in 1819. His duty, as imposed upon him by the Trustees, was to inform the students about Jewish antiquities, the origin and extension of the Church, the various sects and heresies in the early period, the character and writings of the Fathers, the rise of popery and Mohammedanism, the corruptions of the Church of Rome, the Reformation, the various constitutions, disciplines, and rites of worship of the Protestant denominations, the state and prevalence of paganism, and its influence on individual and national character as compared with that of Mohammedanism and Christianity. Lacking a regular professorship hitherto, the subject of his-

tory had been neglected, an omission which had been called to the attention of the Trustees more than once by the Faculty. They protested that a fourth professor was needed, because "God has set the mark of frailty on man," and they were sensible that they had "a very precarious hold on health and on life." Even after his appointment he taught sacred rhetoric for five years before he could give his full attention to church history.

Murdock was a graduate of Yale and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in the year of his Andover appointment. He was characterized as "a little dry man with a large elastic brain and nerves like catgut." His fund of learning was prodigious, and he was an exact scholar. He commenced the study of Syriac at the age of seventy, and three years later completed a translation of the Syriac New Testament. Then he started Arabic. His appointment was not approved by certain of the watch-dogs of Zion, including Emmons and Spring, and before he had been at Andover ten years the machinery was put into operation to remove him, first the Trustees, then the Visitors, and finally the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He had expressed sentiments not in accordance with the Creed as the Trustees understood it, and it did not seem to them that he should remain. It was Murdock's young son who cheered Oliver Wendell Holmes, when he was a homesick boy in the Academy, and whom he embalmed in the verses:

"Imp of all mischief, heaven alone knows how
You learned it all—are you an angel now?

In those old days the very, very good
Took up more room, a little, than they should;

. . . . . .

The solemn elders saw life's mournful half,—
Heaven sent this boy, whose mission was to laugh."

It appears as if the Murdock family had an unconventional strain.

Reverend Ralph Emerson succeeded Dr. Murdock. He had graduated from Yale and Andover, and had served a Congregational church in Connecticut for thirteen years. At Andover he remained for almost a quarter of a century, and for half that time was chairman of the Faculty. From year to year the Trustees followed the custom of appointing one of the professors to be president of the Faculty; in only two cases, those of Porter and Edwards, was a man made official president of the Seminary during the first hundred years. Students are proverbially quick to catch at idioms or mannerisms of their teachers. Professor Emerson habitually used the word "touching" when making a special reference. With this in mind a wag in Commons arose one day from his place at table and gravely announced: "Touching Professor Emerson's lecture today there will be none." The records of the Seminary do not reveal the punishment meted out for such *lèse majesté.*

The catalogue of 1831 printed the name of Edward Robinson as professor extraordinary of sacred literature. Robinson had studied and taught at Andover a few years before and then spent a long term of study abroad. He became renowned as the author of biblical researches in Palestine and as founder of the *Bibliotheca Sacra.* Reverend Thomas H. Skinner came to Andover shortly afterward as professor of sacred rhetoric, but within two years he was followed by Edwards A. Park, who thus commenced a service of forty-five years to the Seminary.

In 1839 the catalogue included for the first time the names of the Trustees and the Visitors, preceded by those of the Faculty. The course of study was outlined on a single page, and for a year appeared a statement of an Advanced Class. Three years later the size of the catalogue had increased to sixteen pages. Within two years brief notices were given of the Library, which then contained more than thirteen thousand volumes; to the Porter Rhetorical Society, with its library of 2,600 books; and to the Society of Inquiry, which had accumulated 1,400 publications. Names of instructors appear and disappear: Beckwith, Talcott and Henry B. Smith,

Russell, Robbins, Dickinson, and Robie. Professors Woods and Stuart were retired as *emeritus*. In 1844 the number of students fell below one hundred and continued in the nineties most of the time for a number of years.

Both Justin and Bela B. Edwards joined the Faculty during this period. Justin Edwards was a farmer's son and was compelled to struggle for an education, but he graduated with honors from Williams College in 1810. During the second year of his theological course at Andover he was asked to become pastor of the South Parish Church, which then included members from the Seminary and Academy, and he remained in that position fifteen years. He was one of the founders of the American Tract Society, and acted as corresponding secretary and manager. For seven years he was pastor of the Salem Street Church in Boston, and then for the same length of time he was secretary of the American Temperance Society. In 1836 he was elected president of the Seminary, but after six years he resumed secretarial duties, this time of the American and Foreign Sabbath Union. He was devoted to these various causes and wrote Sabbath and Temperance manuals, besides a commentary on the New Testament which was published at Andover by the American Tract Society. He held an unusual relation to the Seminary. A student within three years of its founding and pastor in the South Parish for fifteen years, he became president of the school, was thirty-three years a Trustee, and finally chairman of the Board. Thus he saw Seminary life from all its angles.

Bela B. Edwards had a literary as well as an educational career. Trained at both Amherst and Williams and a graduate of Andover in 1830, he served as assistant secretary of the American Education Society for five years and then became editor of the *American Quarterly Register*. He held that position for fourteen years, and part of the time was editor of the *American Quarterly Observer* and of the *Biblical Repository*. Later he was on the board of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He was not ordained until 1837, when he became professor of the Hebrew language and literature at Andover Seminary,

where he remained until his death fifteen years later. His spirituality and friendliness earned for him the encomium—"that tender heart, that seraphic spirit." His monument bore the inscription: "An humble student of the Bible; an admirer of nature, an enthusiast in the classics and the fine arts; delicate and practical in his tastes; careful and patient in his researches; of multifarious learning, of comprehensive judgment; earnest and sensitive, but gentle and serene; severe towards himself, charitable to others; he was a discreet counsellor, a revered friend, a disciple whom Jesus loved."

With the middle of the nineteenth century came changes which marked the approach of the semi-centennial of the Seminary. The founders were gone or lingered, like Squire Farrar, to help celebrate the fifty years. The familiar figures of many years were seen no more in the classrooms. Professors Woods and Stuart had seemed as firmly planted as the elms on the campus. Yet the time had come when the eye was dimmed and the natural force abated, and they exchanged the lectures of the classrooms for the mellowing thoughts of the fireside. Long had they been neighbors on Main Street, one in a house that had been built two years after the opening of the Seminary, the other six years later. But as new occupants took the chairs of instruction, so they replaced the older men in the professors' houses. Professor Barrows gave a new oriental atmosphere to the study that for so long had breathed the flavor of theology. Professor Thayer before long restored the biblical atmosphere in the Stuart house.

Edwards A. Park was transferred from the chair of sacred rhetoric, which he had held for eleven years, to the chair of Christian theology as successor of Woods. Some thought that his theological coins did not ring true, but he lived to be recognized as the champion of Calvinistic orthodoxy and to fasten his system of theology upon the thought of a generation of Congregational ministers. Austin Phelps became Bartlet professor of sacred rhetoric, and came to exert an influence over the preaching of his pupils comparable to that of Park in theology. Calvin E. Stowe was a professor of high standing for twelve years in his own right, while he enjoyed the reflected

glow of his wife's fame. W. G. T. Shedd, as professor of church history, brought added reputation to Andover through his books as well as his classroom instruction. Lowell Mason and George F. Root at times were instructors in music.

Elijah P. Barrows became professor of the Hebrew language and literature in 1853. A graduate of Yale, he had been at Western Reserve University for fifteen years as professor of sacred rhetoric. At Andover he taught Hebrew at first, and was then promoted to a full professorship. He was to remain at Andover for thirteen years and then to round out his teaching career at Oberlin. It was usual for Andover to look with preference to her own alumni as prospective teachers, but this did not prevent a wider look abroad if there was a professor of note rising above the horizon somewhere else. The successor of Barrows was Charles M. Mead, who had graduated from Middlebury, had been a teacher at Phillips Academy at Andover, and then had gone to study at Halle and Berlin. By that time he was prepared for a professional career, and the Trustees elected him to the chair of Hebrew language and literature at Andover, which he occupied for fourteen years until 1882. Later on he put ten years into literary work in England and Germany and many more in America, taught at Princeton and Hartford seminaries, and was one of the American revisers of the Bible. He was author and editor. He was bespangled with degrees, doctor of philosophy from Tübingen, doctor of divinity from Middlebury and Princeton, and doctor of laws from Middlebury, but he was human just the same.

The number of students was in the nineties for several years. There were exactly one hundred in 1854. Three years later the number had risen to one hundred and twenty-three, representing the five states of the Old Northwest, Canada, and England, as well as New England, and fourteen of them were from institutions other than the Congregational colleges of New England.

At the middle of the century the earlier alumni were bearing the burden and heat of the active ministry. They must have looked back in thought now and then to the old Brick Row

and the classrooms where they had struggled with Hebrew roots and Greek stems, waged wordy battle over 'ologies and 'isms, and practised the art of swaying the minds and emotions of congregations. They recalled the friendships that were cemented as they walked under the green canopy of Elm Arch or looked out on the "old orthodox green, so very orthodox that all the paths are at right angles, and no cuts across." There they had opened their hearts to one another; there they had pondered long in the Society of Inquiry whether their duty lay near at home or farther afield; there they had sung lustily on the chorus of the Lockhart Society, or had declaimed on the platform of the Porter Rhetorical Society. Or their thought wandered to the staid frolics of the town church or the professors' homes, or to the long walks across country to woods and ponds and around the bald hills. They remembered how they strolled along Indian Ridge and traced the windings of the Shawsheen River, or loafed on the slope above Pomp's Pond, or climbed Sunset Rock to get a view of the sunset.

Sunsets from Andover Hill were frequently eulogized by those who loved the old town. One speaker at the fiftieth anniversary declared: "I have looked upon the far-famed sunsets of Italy, and my sober conviction is that never was there a display of the beauties and glories of the firmament more magnificent than that which is often furnished, from this very spot, to those who here are in training for the Christian ministry; as if to them, like the apostle at Patmos, a door was opened into heaven. Even now after years of absence I cannot rid myself of the impression, deepened by so many hours of twilight musings, that the transition from this favored place to the mansions of the blessed is specially easy and natural, that the gates of pearl and the stones of sapphire lie just beyond those gorgeous clouds in the western sky, which forever are taking and giving glory in the light of the setting sun."

A student writing from Andover Hill in 1856 thus described the school and its environs: "To the north the eye can travel up to the blue hills of New Hampshire, and only three

miles distant stand and smoke the mammoth factories of the city of Lawrence. The whole scenery about is dotted with sequestered villages and snow-white farmhouses. Lowell, Salem, Haverhill, and Boston, are next-door neighbors. On the south is a hedge of railroad; on the east we can almost hear the roaring of the ocean; on the north flows the devious but busy Merrimac; while the west, to say nothing of its home associations, gives us a never-to-be-forgotten sunset. Thus environed, overarched by a deep blue sky, and standing upon ground whose beauty pen and paper cannot paint, Andover is the spot for a seminary. . . . Nearly every house looks like a country-seat, and even the old edifices, which were raised, I suppose, in the last century, have an air of neatness about them, being clothed in the purest white. It is a very wealthy place; but the wealth of the Seminary astonishes me. Nearly every house within a quarter of a mile is owned by the Trustees."

The Seminary approached its semi-centennial with pride and confidence. It was no longer an experiment. It had settled down to steady usefulness decade by decade. Its graduates had gone hither and yon on various errands bent. They were pastors in country and city. They were missionaries in the East and the West. They were in demand for chairs of instruction and administration in the colleges, in editors' sanctums, and in secretarial offices. Times were changing. The anti-slavery agitation was in the air. Anti-masonry and anti-popery were clamorous for support. The Mormons had been creating excitement in Missouri, and the Kansas Crusade was on. But staid old New England was not revolutionary, either with quack religion or social creed. The Congregational churches were still orthodox, and the old gospel was the theme of the pulpit. Those were halcyon days for theological professors, leisurely days for village ministers. They were not hazed by committees and disturbed by telephone calls. They were not vexed, as their brethren were later, by labor unions or the Ku Klux Klan. They could still take time to drive leisurely around among their parishioners and listen to the recital of ills real or imaginary. There were no campaigns of religious education or social service. Sermons, to be sure, must be

wrought out on the anvil, not tossed together with an assortment of stories; because the people had ideas of their own about doctrine, and they liked to hear orthodoxy expounded. And the deacons held their positions for life, while the minister's was more precarious and subject to behavior accordant with the will of elect laymen. But the minister was held in honor in his own church and community, and to be an alumnus of Andover gave prestige.

The year 1858 brought the fiftieth anniversary, and the semi-centennial was celebrated on Wednesday and Thursday, August fifth and sixth. Old graduates forgot for the time their worries over the financial depression that had come the year before, and their forebodings over the shadow that was spreading over the nation with its threat of civil war. Not in a rumbling stagecoach and a cloud of dust over the turnpike did they return to Andover, as in the olden days, but with greater comfort, if not cleanliness, over the rails. They came back to find the old carpenter shop made over into a residence for Professor Stowe and his family. Very likely they stopped to pay their respects to the militant wife who had kindled a conflagration of emotional excitement across the country by her descriptions of the suffering of the Negro. Uncle Tom's cabin was away down south in the land of cotton, but his wrongs were vivid to the conscience of America, because the wife of a professor gave voice to the heart of a race while she rocked the cradle of her youngest child.

Seminary customs had not changed much. If the visitors had grown soft out in the pastorate, they must get up to a 6.15 o'clock chapel service before breakfast. Even in Anniversary Week Seminary prayers must not be delayed, and breakfast must wait. Seminary Commons had been moved ten years before to the corner of Main and Morton Streets. Alumni greeted one another and exchanged reminiscences, and met again in class reunions. They caught step with the academic procession, and absorbed the spirit of the anniversary which was so important a landmark in Andover history. Dr. Leonard Bacon recited the story of progress in an historical address. Memorial addresses were delivered on the

illustrious members of the Faculty who had passed on. The Library and its collections were thrown open for inspection. A spirit of decorous gaiety pervaded the campus, and a rosy future was anticipated for the Seminary.

Scarcely was the celebration over when war broke upon the country. The community hummed with excitement, and presently volunteers were drilling in expectation of marching southward. The students could not escape feeling the emotions of the time. They joined in the exercises that attended the raising of a flag, which was flung to the breeze at the Seminary, listened to the prayer of Professor Park, the presentation speech of Professor Phelps, and the address of Professor Stowe, and thrilled as they sang Mrs. Stowe's original hymn written for the occasion. The men of the Seminary fraternized with the Phillips Guard, the Havelock Grays, and the Andover Light Infantry, and realized that real war was at hand. Mrs. Stowe gave a collation to the Havelock Grays.

Interest in the anti-slavery movement had been current in the years before the war. A small abolition society was organized in Andover at least fifteen years earlier. The society on one occasion appointed a student delegate to a convention in New York. It was necessary to obtain the permission of Professor Woods, and this was refused. The student went in spite of the refusal, expecting to be disciplined on his return, but he escaped. It was only a few years since the Trustees had reprimanded the Faculty because its members spent too much time out of town, and perhaps the Faculty thought it as well not to press their authority against a student.

A number of students enlisted in the army; others who would have entered delayed or abandoned their purpose. The number of students declined from one hundred and thirty-three in 1860 to sixty-eight in 1864. Andover alumni joined the army either as chaplains or soldiers until the Seminary was represented on the roster by sixty-five men. One man was brevetted a brigadier general. Four were killed or died of wounds. A chaplain was killed as he was going to the relief of a wounded comrade.

The Lockhart Society broadened its repertory to include

patriotic songs. They sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" at the flag raising. At a town celebration on Washington's Birthday they rendered the same song and added "Hail Columbia," "America," and the "Russian Hymn." They did not disdain to assist in a festival of the Female Missionary Society in the town hall. After the war had progressed, conscientious men faced the problem whether country or Seminary had the more immediate claim. It was then that the Lockhart Society lost both its president and secretary by enlistment.

Other evidences of the widening scope of the Society appeared even before the war. Its members accepted an invitation to spend the evening at Abbot Academy. The secretary recorded a minute in the archives that "the Society passed several hours very pleasantly in the company of the teachers and their pupils, chatting, partaking of a handsome collation, singing and listening to music by some of the young ladies," after which they took their leave, and like real college boys sang a couple of pieces as a serenade.

Even more venturesome was an excursion to the neighboring town of Middleton to give a concert. They went in three conveyances over the road, performed their parts creditably, and then accepted an invitation to a hospitable home for refreshments. In due time they commenced the return journey, beguiling the way with various adventures of the road in mid-Victorian fashion, making merry with "all manner of music, stories, jokes, and other theological amusements," and arriving at the Seminary about "2¼ o'clock A.M., well pleased, in good order, and sleepy." One wonders whether Dr. Pearson would have disciplined the boys for such revelry fifty years before, and whether the student who thought it frivolous to meet in society at a professor's house would not have been scandalized. That this was not the only fling engaged in by the singing society is clear from the record of a visit of nine of them to the North Andover Church. They rendered "Lovely Night," the "Miller's Song," and a march "in a proper and artistic manner," but these were plainly unacceptable to the audience of young children, so one of the students read to

them "Darius Green and His Flying Machine" amid tremendous applause, and the Society sang "Three Black Crows" and "Upidee," and adjourned.

Amid these occasional diversions the Society did not forget its main purpose. It resolved as a result of experience and observation that theological students should cultivate their musical capacities sufficiently so that they might start a tune in social worship, and might exert an influence in guiding the music of the sanctuary. They resolved also that church worship should be conducted wholly as a devotional service, and not as an artistic or operatic performance. And finally they resolved that it was highly important that churches should have congregational singing, and that Sunday School children should be trained to sing such music as they would come to use in the service of worship in the meetinghouse.

They continued occasionally to go out into the country to give a concert, and once they sang at an entertainment given by the Boston School of Oratory in the Old South Church, the proceeds being turned over to the cause of home missions. They furnished the music for public meetings of the Porter Rhetorical Society and the Society of Inquiry. They profited from the instruction of Lowell Mason. But they were not without annoyances. On one occasion they attempted an effort beyond their powers which "but for ye accuracy and efficiency of President Seymour would have involved ye Lockharts in un-get-out-able disgrace." The week before that unfortunate occurrence the members of the Society lost patience with the second bass, and it was voted to instruct the president to labor with him and bring him up to a higher standard of attendance and practice or to ask his resignation.

Years before the Society had asked the Trustees to provide an instructor in music, and at times such instruction was given. Not long after the last incidents occurred a musical director was receiving seventy-five dollars a year, including the organist, for leading the Glee Club, which the Society sometimes called itself, providing a choir for the Sunday evening services and an organist and leader for morning prayers and the Wednesday evening conference, and giving

a course of twelve lessons in elementary music to the students through the winter.

Inter-Seminary relations took on a new phase. Back in the early days of the century, when a few students were cherishing the flame of missionary interest, they were concerned with the state of mind of different seminaries on that subject, and branches of the Brethren were organized. But denominational interests divided attention and increased organizations, and inter-seminary relations lapsed. After 1870 the idea of closer friendliness led to the organization of a social union of the theological students at Boston University School of Theology, the Cambridge Episcopal School, the Newton Theological Institution and Andover. In the early winter of 1875 the Andover students played host to the Union, receiving the delegates in the forenoon, holding a public meeting in the South Parish Church, where Phillips Brooks and other well-known ministers addressed them, with music by the musical societies of Andover and Boston University, with class prayer meetings and a visit to the library, and in the afternoon a dinner followed by toasts and a God-speed as the visitors left for Boston on a special train. Similar rallies were held intermittently in subsequent years. Once the students assembled at Boston University, another time at Cambridge, when Harvard and Tufts were represented. Several of the conferences at Andover were devoted to the subject of missions. The ebb and flow of interest depended on the leadership of a few men who from time to time had a larger vision than the ordinary.

Andover felt the competition of other schools as the number of seminaries increased, and a tendency appeared to decline in numbers. Once the Civil War was over, the enrollment increased. Young men who had been delayed by the war entered the school. In 1866 the mark of one hundred was passed once more, though attendance was to drop off seriously in the next decade. The fluctuation in attendance was occasioned by a number of factors. A partial cause of the occasional dearth of students was the decrease in the number of college students entering the ministry. The rise of Hartford and Yale stiffened competition. Andover was one of the first

of the seminaries to experiment with an English course for men who had not had the advantage of college preparation. A special professor was appointed for their instruction with power to decide the courses that the students should take, besides a prescribed course in Historical Studies in the English Version of the Scriptures. In twelve years eighty students were enrolled in the department, but the experiment came to an end with the resignation of Professor Taylor, who had been in charge. The Advanced Course, which had been tried early in the history of the Seminary, was tried again, and reached the number of more than one hundred. Yale had made a success of the plan, and its inception at Andover drew Trinitarian students from Harvard. They liked freedom from lectures, the opportunity of having special distinguished instructors from outside to lecture to them, even from Europe, and they enjoyed doing creative work under the direction of the Faculty.

Attendance at the Seminary depended many times on whether a student could obtain pecuniary aid. The founders of the institution realized that such would be the case and made provision for scholarships. The Constitution provided that no student in the school should ever be charged tuition. Soon there was more demand than could be met, since many of the men depended solely on their own exertions. Scholarship funds were therefore sought for, and the time came when a student received two hundred dollars a year from the Seminary and the American Education Society, and additional assistance for special need.

Eventually it became necessary to raise funds for increased endowment and new buildings. The Seminary was fortunate at the beginning in its benefactors. The necessary buildings were provided and sufficient money was available for the modest needs of the school. With a professor's salary fixed at one thousand dollars, or even fifteen hundred, as it was after 1819, with a residence rent free, the demands upon the treasury were not heavy. Yet one-third of the benefactions were unproductive of income, so that the vested funds were not so large as was popularly supposed. When the large num-

ber of students required an enlarged faculty, more money must be forthcoming. The friends of the school were not grudging, and no serious need went uncared for. For more than fifty years the three buildings of Brick Row had received no additions, but the Trustees held a large amount of land, and professors' houses were added on occasion.

Two years before the semi-centennial there was a school property valued at four hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the library, which numbered about twenty thousand volumes. $117,000 of this amount was in buildings, $228,000 in investments, drawing an income of six per cent. This provided an income of $17,000, which the Trustees divided into six parts. $1,560 was added annually to permanent fund; $1,020 was assigned to meet the growing needs of the library; $3,000 was appropriated for the upkeep of the property; $2,000 went for all other annual expenses except instruction; $7,900 was set aside for the salaries of five professors and two temporary instructors, and $1,800 went for student aid.

It was felt that the increasing cost of living required larger salaries for the Faculty, for no change had been made for thirty-five years. This would require $40,000 in additional funds, and friends in Boston and vicinity were asked at a meeting in the Old South Church to supply that need. The library needed a new building. That would cost $30,000. The same amount was needed for student aid. Once the war was over the Trustees undertook a campaign to meet the accumulating needs. Believing in the returning prosperity of the Seminary and an increasing number of students, they planned on a larger scale than ever before. They asked for endowment for three new professorships. They saw the desirability of bringing distinguished leaders before the students, and for that purpose proposed five lectureships. If three fellowships should be endowed, it would be possible for exceptional scholars among the graduates to enjoy the privilege of a year or two in European study. They asked for funds to provide fifty scholarships to aid the undergraduates. The library needed a separate fund for books and administration as well as for better housing of its store of literature. They

undertook to increase recent benefactions until the total should amount to $300,000.

Among the particular needs that were felt was a lectureship in missions, for Andover had a reputation as a missionary school. Already it had sent out one hundred and fifty missionaries, and a lectureship in missions was the logical consequence. The Trustees were impressed by the early death of many missionaries and of pastors in the churches with the urgent need of scientific lectures on health. A still larger sum than for these needs should be available for instruction in elocution. New principles and methods were coming into practice, and sacred rhetoric needed supplementing. To meet the attacks of science upon the citadels of orthodox theology, there was need of lectures on logic and mental philosophy to show the best methods of defence of the gospel against pantheism and materialism. And besides these was the new biblical criticism coming from Europe, and no less than thirty thousand dollars was needed for a new professorship in that field. One hundred and fifty college presidents and professors had been trained at Andover. The best students ought not to have to go elsewhere for the best instruction.

When the needs were published there was a generous response. New chairs were endowed, lectureships were provided, the needs of the library were not forgotten. It is impressive to read the list of the funds reported in 1867 as having been added within little more than a decade. The largest gift was Brechin Hall, given for a library building by two brothers, John and Peter Smith, and John Dove, natives of Brechin, Scotland. This was completed in 1866 at an expense of more than forty thousand dollars. It was constructed of stone, with a tower ninety-three feet high, giving a wide prospect over the surrounding country. The main part of the building was seventy by forty-three feet. Though forty years more were to crowd its space with books, the new structure furnished welcome relief from the pressure upon the limited quarters in Bartlet Chapel.

The recent benefactions included Miss Sophia Smith's endowment of a new professorship in theology, amounting

to $30,000; two Hitchcock donations of $30,000; the Boston Fund for salary increases, raised by subscription, to the amount of $28,000; $27,000 for scholarships; $20,500 pledged for a new chapel; a fund for library maintenance given by the donors of the building, amounting to $19,000; the Jones endowment of a chair in elocution to the amount of $15,000; the Hyde and Southworth lectureships of $5,000 each; the Reed legacy of $5,000 for the library; the same amount for the Newton Cabinet, and miscellaneous sums to the total of nearly $40,000.

The next few years brought more benefactions, for the needs increased as fast as the means could be provided. A bequest from Frederick H. Taylor of Andover, supplemented by other Taylor donations, made possible the Taylor professorship of biblical theology and history. Into this chair John Phelps Taylor was inducted in 1883. Mr. Daniel P. Stone, a Boston merchant, left about two million dollars at his death in 1878, to be distributed by his wife. She contributed a single gift of fifty thousand dollars to the Seminary, which endowed the Stone professorship of the relations of Christianity and science. Subsequently by making provisional gifts she was the means of bringing into the treasury of the Seminary large additional funds. Within the eight years from 1873 to 1881 two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were added to the resources.

The result of all these benefactions was greater breadth of instruction and increased facilities in the buildings. Lectures began to be given regularly in missions on the Hyde foundation, including Rufus Anderson, Julius H. Seelye, Edward A. Lawrence, John P. Jones, Charles Cuthbert Hall, James L. Barton, Edward C. Moore, Otis Cary, and John R. Mott. Some of the lectures on the Southworth foundation, dealing with Congregationalism, revivals, and home evangelization, were by Henry M. Dexter, Amory H. Bradford, Williston Walker, Francis G. Peabody, and Arthur C. McGiffert. Soon the new Taylor, Stone, and Smith professorships were available. It became possible to secure the services of a skilled librarian, and Reverend William L. Ropes commenced a service of almost forty years to the Seminary. The library was enriched by

large purchases in Germany, and was able to add a thousand books a year. Professor Churchill came to teach elocution.

The new stone chapel of Gothic architecture with its stained glass windows and symbolic signs on the front of the building greatly improved the appearance of the campus and provided needed accommodations for the Seminary church. The low walls and high roof gave it dignity, the three aisles and absence of pillars made an impression of spaciousness, the ash furnishings relieved pulpit and pews and screen from gloominess; and the tastefully tinted walls with their soft shades and bands of deeper color contributed to an atmosphere of restful worship. The old chapel had had bare white walls, high-backed pews with doors, and an old-fashioned box pulpit. The old recitation rooms were dingy and ill-ventilated, and their desks were defaced by pencils and jackknives in the hands of restless students. Now Bartlet Chapel was renovated to provide larger and airier rooms, and steam fixtures were installed for heating. Dormitory rooms were furnished in modern fashion. A laundry and a bath-house were erected. New professors' houses were added.

By 1877 eight professors were on the roll; lectures on Egyptology and on the relations of physiology to religious experience showed a recognition of the value of many subjects to a theological student; the Faculty was learning to adjust its instruction to the new demands, yet the old curriculum was changed little. Exegesis was still the normal grist of the first year, dogmatic theology of the second, and homiletics or history of the third. And the number of students continued to decline in spite of all the improvements. In 1867 there had been one hundred and fifteen; ten years later the number had fallen to seventy-three.

Andover Seminary had reached threescore years and ten. Was it sufficient to dress itself in new habiliments and to refurbish the instruments of its craft? The world of thought had been changing, but Andover still kept its Hopkinsian theology. Was it time for a new interpretation of religion? Were the tides of modernism to undermine the ancient bulwarks? Time alone could tell. And time did not wait.

CHAPTER V

ANDOVER MEN IN THE PARISH MINISTRY

ANDOVER was founded for the distinct purpose of preparing men for the parish ministry. At that time the prestige of the Trinitarian Congregationalists was at stake. The Unitarians had the advantage of Harvard instruction and the Harvard reputation. Unless the Trinitarians could establish a theological school that would attract young men of ability, and year after year could supply the Congregational churches with orthodox leaders who were able to measure swords successfully in doctrinal controversy when need arose, they would be worsted in the competition of the two theological parties.

There were in Massachusetts alone nearly three hundred and fifty Congregational churches about the year 1800. Of these nearly one hundred withdrew from the evangelical ranks, depriving orthodoxy of church property valued at more than $600,000. In Boston the only Trinitarian Congregational churches were the Old South and the new Park Street. Yet in spite of these serious losses there were scores of important churches which were looking to the Seminary for pastors. It was these men who, often through long pastorates, built patiently to restore the vigor and strength of earlier days. Hardly had the Congregational churches begun to recover before all denominations were placed on an equality before the law. This threw the material support completely upon the members of the churches at a time when they were losing so heavily. But it was in line with the tendency of the period to destroy privilege and to compel every group and organization to stand on its own feet. Baptists were increasing rapidly with the growth of religious interest which attended the intermittent revivals, attracting many of the townspeople, though

the principle of voluntary support for churches and ministers required pecuniary sacrifices. Episcopalians were luring away some who felt the appeal of order and beauty in church worship. Methodists were planting their chapels on the village borders or out in the open country. And the Unitarians now were on the side of those who wanted equal rights in religion.

It was with these handicaps that the youthful graduates of Andover undertook the task of carrying New England Congregationalism to the old position of leadership once more. Some of them had meagre resources. Josiah Peet, who graduated in the second class at Andover, found a place of ministry at Norridgewock, Maine. Because the church was poor he spent half his time preaching as a home missionary in the outlying communities. But when the people of Norridgewock found that Unitarianism was making inroads locally, the church saw that it must exert itself and increased the minister's salary enough so that it could claim three-quarters of his time. This new effort resulted in a revival which brought forty new members into the church, and Peet remained with the Norridgewock church for a pastorate of thirty-eight years. Out of the church went four young men to enter the ranks of the ministry.

It was from such country churches that the Seminary obtained most of its recruits, and to them that most of the students went upon graduation. Jacob Ide of the third class went to a pastorate at West Medway in 1814, was made a trustee of Amherst and was honored with the degree of doctor of divinity by Brown, but he held only the one rural pastorate throughout a long life.

Men like these made little noise in the world. They were content to minister faithfully where farmers toiled in the fields and artisans in their little backyard shops. They were the first citizens in the community, respected by the children whom they had baptized and perhaps married twenty years later. They grew gray among the people to whom they ministered, the only pastor that many of their parishioners ever knew. Such men did not need the spur of new scenes, the stimulus of a better folk. Like Charles Kingsley at Eversley, they

built themselves into the community where they had found a home, and made the place richer because of their presence.

Now and then a graduate of Andover attained to a place of large influence because of his personal ability or the distinction of the church or community. Richard Salter Storrs was in Andover's first class, going the next year to the church in Braintree, far enough from Boston then to remain a country village. Himself the son of a father who was minister in Longmeadow for a generation, he became the father in his turn of a still more noteworthy son, Dr. Richard Salter Storrs of Brooklyn, New York. The church at Braintree kept its pastor for a lifelong service of sixty-two years, except for an interim of five years when his chief attention was given to his duties as secretary of the Home Mission Society in Massachusetts. Men were born, grew up, turned gray, and died while he was there. Shy maidens stood before him for a marriage blessing, brought their babies to him for baptism, and saw those children grow to maturity and become mothers before his task was done. The name of Storrs is revered still in the old church in Braintree, with a feeling of pride that the great Brooklyn preacher was a boy in the Old Colony of Massachusetts.

When the Seminary at Andover was looking for a professor to succeed Eliphalet Pearson, it chose Moses Stuart, minister of the First Church in New Haven. When sixteen years later that pulpit was vacant again, the church called Leonard Bacon to its pastorate on recommendation of Professor Stuart. Under the shadow of Yale College the First Church pulpit was a platform of power. Bacon had graduated from Andover a scant two years before, but he proved equal to the exacting demands of the position. One-fourth of the members voted against him when the question of the call was before them. Only twenty-three years old, he was expected to fill the shoes of Moses Stuart and Nathaniel W. Taylor, the eminent theologian who went from that pulpit into the Yale faculty. Several of the prominent members of the church, including a United States senator, later called upon the youthful pastor to suggest that his sermons were not up to their level. "Gentle-

men," was his reply, "they shall be made worthy." Within three years he was preaching with complete acceptance. Before long he was marked as a man upon whose shoulders might safely be placed heavy denominational responsibilities, and he found time to write and to speak on public platforms. The pulpit was his for fifty-seven years. During that period he found time to write history, to compose hymns as well as sermons, to aid in founding and to edit the *Independent,* and to fill the position of editor of the *New Englander.* He debated on public questions in his own city and elsewhere. When the Congregationalists experimented with more unified denominational organization, he was an active leader at the Albany Convention in 1852, at Boston in 1865, and at Oberlin when the National Council was organized in 1871. He was president of the Church Building Society. At the fiftieth anniversary of the Seminary at Andover he was the one to recount the history of the half century. With all the rest he helped to rear a son worthy to rank with himself as a Congregational leader, Leonard Woolsey Bacon, class of 1854 at Andover, pastor in Brooklyn, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, compiler of a popular hymn-book, and author of the "History of American Christianity."

The reputation of Andover drew certain students from a long distance. Congregationalists had found their home in New England, and it was not to be expected that their school would reach many in the West or the South. The settlement of New Englanders in New York and Ohio resulted in a small contingent of students from those states, and Presbyterians from New York and New Jersey found their way eastward. An interesting case of a southerner is that of George Washington Kelly, who from Lewisburg, Virginia, caught a vision of what Andover might do for him, and on the fourteenth of October, 1830, started from the land of his nativity on the arduous journey north. Because he kept a diary and an account of his expenses it is possible to follow him on his way. Country roads at best were not smooth highways, and in the South the usual manner of travel was by horseback. Many a road and a bridge was built by subscription, and tolls were

charged for maintenance. A day's journey was limited to the condition of the roads and the endurance of the horse, and the traveler must allow considerable sums for overnight lodging. Fortunately Kelly found accommodations at country inns for thirty-seven and a half cents, but frequent tolls cost him twelve and a half cents each. He delayed his progress at Baltimore, where he stayed three days and four nights. Baltimore was a considerable town and his total expenditure of $5.75 was probably not excessive. It would be interesting to know what detained him so long when Andover classes had commenced their fall sessions already, but he did not record the reasons. Perhaps it took time to sell his horse, for from that point he traveled by boat to New York. Passage to Philadelphia took four dollars from his purse, and it cost him fifty cents to lodge there. From Philadelphia to New York five dollars more disappeared. A day in New York cost him one dollar. The trip from New York to Boston was the most expensive of all, and the stage fare from Boston to Andover was $2.25. His total outlay amounted to $35.86, a considerable sum at a time when a dollar had far greater purchasing power than at present.

Kelly's account book throws a sidelight on a student's requirements at the Seminary. Faithfully he records the items. Books were necessary and expensive. He paid two dollars for a Hebrew grammar and $5.25 for a Greek and English lexicon. Thirty cents went for a bucket, twenty-two for a quart of oil. A razor and hone cost him eighty-two cents, a box of blacking and soap 18¾ cents, half an ounce of wafers six cents. To send a letter deprived him of twenty-five cents. A troublesome flue required an outlay of six cents; one yard of green baize cost thirty cents. A cord of wood cost four dollars, but he got along with an apron that took only 12½ cents of his rapidly dwindling hoard. Apples at 12½ cents a peck and molasses at thirteen cents for three pints made pan dowdy possible. It cost him twenty cents to get a flannel shirt made, and 12½ cents for charity to a room sweeper. Literary material was as necessary as food for the body. Sixteen cents went to pay for two sermons, and 37½ cents for a copy of

Doddridge's "Rise and Progress." He paid two dollars for instruction in Hebrew, doubtless to make up for his late arrival, and twenty-five cents was his contribution for missionaries to the Sandwich Islands.

Andover paid its debts for men like Kelly by sending certain of her graduates to the South. George Howe, a Massachusetts boy and a graduate of Andover in 1825, commenced a teaching career of fifty years in a Presbyterian seminary in Columbia, South Carolina. Writing in 1845, he speaks of his attachment to the region in spite of numerous trials and discouragements, and a different state of society from that in which he had been brought up. In the farther perspective he sees faults even in his own New England. He is fully conscious of the needs of the South, and he does his best to induce young men of promise to study for the ministry, because of the serious lack of those who would take the time to prepare properly. He published two appeals, conscious of the many difficulties which those who were educated at the North could not understand relative to seminary attendance, and he had the satisfaction of teaching one hundred and eighteen students in fourteen years, most of whom became active pastors and a few missionaries.

The old custom of students studying with pastors did not pass with the advent of seminaries, and Andover alumni had their part in that practice. John Todd of the class of 1825 had five such apprentices at different times, and it gave him satisfaction to know that they were all doing well. The report which he sent to his class at the end of twenty years from graduation is typical of a large number of Andover alumni. He wrote freely to his classmates, not boastfully, but with gratitude to God that he had been able to help in building up the Kingdom. He had had a part in the erection of three meetinghouses. His direct influence had brought a thousand dollars annually from his churches into the treasury of the American Board. He had attended denominational associations and had spoken on their platforms. Habitually he preached three times on Sunday and led not less than two meetings during the week. He had failed to accumulate much money since he had married, but he was about even with the

world. Incidentally he had paid the support of a demented mother for sixteen years. He thanked Providence for habitual health and for "mercies from heaven far more than I deserve," and he appreciated a doctor's degree and an election to the board of trustees of Williams College. His pastorates included the Edwards Church at Northampton, the First Congregational Church in Philadelphia, and thirty years of active service at Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

Many an Andover man knew hardship both during and after his years of study. Under the impulse of a sturdy conscience, stimulated perhaps by the pastor of a rural church, a country boy dreamed of college and a theological seminary, and was willing to endure hardness if he might reach his goal. He might get little but hard knocks, yet the limitless opportunity for service appealed to him.

Such was John Spaulding of the class of 1828. Growing up in a country hamlet, he was able in time to get to Phillips Academy in Andover, "having only thirty dollars, one suit of clothes, no books, and none but God to look to for aid." He made his way through ten years of study at the Academy, at Middlebury College, and at Andover Seminary, and in that time he spent only $1,427.14. For four months in five successive winters he taught school, and he received some aid from the American Education Society, which he repaid, and some from friends. But it was mainly by keeping his expenses down to the lowest point that he was able to continue his long years of preparation. "These hands," he declared, "ministered to my necessities" with the woodsaw, the sickle, the scythe, the axe and the hoe. "These legs ministered to my locomotion to and from college; and seldom through the whole course of my studies did I feel justified for spending a single hard-earned shilling for a ride. My arrival at college was amidst a cold rain storm in September. My room was furnished with nothing save an unwoven carpet of mother earth on its floor; which a few buckets of water and a broom greatly improved. A few shillings furnished a bedstead and cord; and the bundle containing my whole wardrobe, which had been my traveling companion all the way from Massachusetts, though wet by

the storm, furnished a pillow. On that cord, in that wet room, the almost moneyless, supperless, and cover-less student stretched himself for his first night in college. But it was entering College! and that was an acquisition worth more to him than the conquest of Mexico with all of Texas would be now."

Many a country minister found it necessary to work harder at manual labor than in his study. Joseph Bennett, of the class of 1821, could say a quarter of a century later that in the twenty-four years since he had left Andover he had been able to preach every Sunday but one, and on an average five times a week, had made pastoral calls on four hundred families once a year, had attended one hundred church councils, and had always attended Commencement at Andover, and the anniversaries in Boston; besides these duties that belonged to his profession he had exercised three hours a day in the open air, for twenty years had felled trees in the woods and had cut up the timber in the yard with the help of his son, enough for three fires, had mowed, raked, and pitched five tons of hay every year for his horse and cow, and had taken care of the animals and of his garden. In that time he had admitted to the church by profession seven hundred and eighty-two persons, had brought up two children, "both pious," and the son preparing for the ministry, and had raised twenty thousand dollars to found an academy and to build meetinghouses.

The country churches depended on revivals for most of their accessions to membership. Again and again men wrote for their class report a record of scores and hundreds received into their churches by these special efforts. They shared in the special revival seasons of 1837 and 1857, and they had their own special awakenings locally.

Classes adopted the custom, even in comparatively early years, of collecting information from each member at the end of a certain period of years and printing the reports in a pamphlet for the benefit of all. Certain of the classes were distinguished by members who had gained eminence. Such was the class of 1819. Bingham and Thurston were missionaries to Hawaii, King to Greece, Byington to the Choctaws. Smith, Wheeler, and Wayland became college presidents;

Ripley, Torrey, Warner, and Haddock were professors. Orville Dewey became a prominent Unitarian minister. The class of 1857 at graduation met in "Uncle Sam's" recitation room in Phillips Academy for its class supper. After supper they took one another into their confidence. "Every man betrayed himself," runs the record, "told all he knew; whether he was engaged or not, and to whom; whether he had a call, and where, etc., etc. It was a merry time. School days were over. No more bells to prayers and recitations. Work, waiting, reward, these were before us. We went out to the first, to wait for the last, with a vote to meet in ten years."

The class of 1855 numbered thirty-nine. Abbe, Anthony, Colby, Fay, Foster, Loomis, Patten, Smith, and Webber, were pastors in Massachusetts. Moore and Ray settled in Vermont, Pratt in Connecticut, Bates in New York, and Grassie in Pennsylvania. Two were in the United States army during the Civil War. One was made consul to Newcastle-on-Tyne in England by President Lincoln. One became an Episcopalian. Hurlbut and Shaw had honorable careers as home missionary pastors, one in Nebraska and the other in Michigan. Two members of the class became college presidents, Bascom of the University of Wisconsin, after nearly twenty years as professor of rhetoric at Williams; the other, Boardman, who after a similar professorship at Middlebury and two pastorates, became president of Maryville College, Tennessee. Two other members occupied professorial chairs, Marsh at the University of Vermont, and Mooar at the Pacific Theological Seminary. Aiken, Allen, Barnum, Bliss, Knapp, and Leonard, were all missionaries of the American Board, the last four for long terms of service in the Turkish Empire. Strong, after nineteen years of pastoral service near Boston, served for more than thirty years as editorial secretary of the American Board.

It is alumni records like these that gave Andover Seminary its eminence. The class of 1855 was not especially distinguished. It can be duplicated more than once. The class of 1858 presents a wide variety of service. Baldwin was a pastor of Congregational and Presbyterian churches, chiefly in the

Middle West. Batt was long time chaplain of the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord. Bliss was secretary of the New West Education Commission, as Hamilton was of the American College and Education Society. Chamberlain was in the Christian Commission of Sherman's Army, and later in life an editor and chaplain of the Legislature in Iowa. Charles W. Clark spent thirty years of parish ministry in the Vermont town where he was born. James F. Clarke was for fifty years a missionary to Bulgaria, where he became principal of an institute, translator of textbooks, and an active agent in relief work for Bulgarian refugees. Anketell, Brown, Cruikshanks, Dickinson, Emerson, Fellows, were parish ministers. Fenn was minister of the High Street Church, Portland, Maine, for thirty-eight years. Goodell, as pastor of the Pilgrim Church in St. Louis for thirteen years, had a powerful influence in the Mississippi Valley. Howard was an army chaplain; McGinley, a member of the Christian Commission at Antietam and Gettysburg. Meriam was murdered by brigands in Turkey. Jameson became supervisor of Emerson College of Oratory in Boston; Norton, superintendent of a ladies' college at Evanston, Illinois; and Orton, professor of natural history at Vassar. Parker and Pike were country ministers, and Plumb had a long pastorate of thirty-five years at the Walnut Avenue Church in Roxbury, where he saw an attractive suburb become a ward of Boston, in which the people of foreign ancestry displaced most of the American stock. Perkins tried being a secretary for the American Tract Society and the Home Missionary Society for Colorado; Upham was for eleven years the secretary of the Presbyterian Ministers' Fund in Philadelphia. Thwing was a professor, Torrey a pastor in Maine, Twombly went to Honolulu, where he published books. Todd had an eleven years' pastorate in Boston and then one of twenty-one years in New Haven. Washburn was president of the Pasumalai Theological Seminary in India for twenty-two years, and then was president of the college there for nineteen years more. Willard was in home mission service. Young, after an apprenticeship of ten years of college teaching in the Western Reserve University, and a term of army

service as captain of an Ohio company of volunteers, became a noted professor of astronomy at Dartmouth and Princeton for a combined term of nearly forty years.

Some of the ministers specialized in particular departments of Christian service. A century ago when Sunday schools were in their infancy, Jacob Little, who graduated from Andover about the time that the American Sunday School Union was organized, made Bible classes his chief concern in Granville, Ohio, where he was minister of the Congregational church for thirty-seven years. He studied his own lessons by using a round table on which he laid his Bible, with commentaries lying on the outer edge. It was a revolving table built for his convenience, and with its assistance he went through the New Testament and a part of the Old, taking about a day for the study of a single chapter. He held sessions of two classes on alternate Sunday evenings, one in the village and another on the outskirts. His scholars were over fourteen years old and were admitted to the classes only as they agreed to attend for a term of from three to six months. It was no vacation Bible school, or the experiment of a year. The number of scholars increased from sixty to two hundred and twelve in the course of seven years. Two-thirds of them were men and boys. The educational process resulted in many conversions. Parents saw to it that their children learned the selections from Scripture that they were expected to commit to memory, and in eighteen years "all but a sixth of them became pious."

Alumni of later years have had more opportunities in city parishes than did the men of an earlier day. Over a long period of time in a prominent pulpit individual ministers made a mark for themselves, either because they were able to build up a strong church or because they identified themselves with a civic cause. Some of them found special methods useful as means of advance. Such a man was Frederick A. Noble. Born in Maine, educated at Phillips Academy and Yale College, imbibing theology at Andover and Lane Seminaries, he divided his ministry between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. After thirteen years in St. Paul and Pittsburgh and then four years at New Haven, he reached the climax of his min-

istry in a twenty-two year pastorate of Union Park Church, Chicago. It was his health that sent him West, but he did the work of a strong man in all his churches. He was a leader in the van of such modern movements as the recognition of young people in the church, the use of the catechetical method with children as a part of his annual program, the more efficient organization of the church and the denomination. He was elected a delegate from Connecticut to a National Council meeting in Detroit when no one else in his Association was enthusiastic enough about the Council to go. He believed in church representation on the foreign field, in the value of deaconesses in the local church. He was chaplain of the Minnesota senate, and he recognized the civic obligation of the church. He found time to study and write upon Puritan history.

Alexander Mackenzie settled nearer his *alma mater* and kept an affectionate interest in it. His personal worth was tested by his long pastorate of forty-three years in the Shepard Memorial Church in Cambridge. He could not have remained there so long under the very shadow of Harvard College had he not been able to defend a staunch theology of his own or to harmonize his teaching with the best thought of his day. In reality he was liberal in his point of view, but he had inner qualities of spirit that kept him from becoming unevangelical. He had the mystical temperament, a poetic imagination, a cultivated and fluent speech in the pulpit, and he had the reputation of being one of the great preachers among the Congregationalists. His good judgment made his services sought as trustee of several educational institutions, including Andover Seminary.

Another minister who gained a reputation far beyond his own parish was Amory H. Bradford. Like Mackenzie, he had a great church back of him in a community that held high rank in wealth and culture. Like Noble, he was given preferment among his ministerial brethren by being elected moderator of the National Council, but these advantages could not have been his had he not shown a consummate ability which warranted the confidence of those who knew him. He was a product of two seminaries, Auburn and Andover, where he

was at one time Southworth lecturer. He had the advantage of a period of study at Oxford, which he enjoyed when on furlough from his church. For seven years he was able to give part of his time to editorial writing on the *Outlook,* and he ventured now and then into authorship, but his main task was a pastoral one, and his people at Montclair, New Jersey, kept him as their minister for the major part of half a century. Long pastorates are no mystery when the man fits the job. Bradford at Montclair fitted like a glove to the hand.

One minister found Finns in his parish territory, and was so interested in doing them good that he learned enough of their language to conduct their baptisms, marriages, and funerals in their tongue, greatly to their satisfaction. That made it possible to organize a Sunday School for them, with occasional preaching services and a night school. A number of ministers, with the new social consciousness in their hearts and minds, interested themselves in problems of industry as others were devoted to temperance or organized charity. Charles A. Dickinson in Boston made Berkeley Temple one of the earliest and best known institutional churches in the United States. A country minister in New Hampshire found that the local grange was not a helpful influence, but instead of denouncing it he organized a guild, which came to number two hundred and twenty-five members and to prove a real asset to the community, and in particular it paid the rent of a house for the minister for several years. A Long Island minister was among the first to try the method of answering questions sent in during the week at a Sunday afternoon vesper service. Charles M. Sheldon in Topeka, Kansas, wrote "In His Steps," and read it to his congregation; it sprang forthwith into fame, and went around the world in sixteen different languages. Francis E. Clark brought into existence the Christian Endeavor Society as a local young people's organization in Williston Church in Portland, Maine. It was too good an idea to localize, too useful to be limited to a single denomination or a single country. It too went around the world to become domesticated everywhere.

Over against this worldwide fame stands this testimonial

after a pastorate of thirteen years in the rural section of western Massachusetts. "Few families in this scattered country parish fail to attend church. Seventy-five teams sometimes jam the horse-sheds of a pleasant summer Sunday. A class of men in the Sunday School has at times numbered seventy to eighty, and nearly the entire congregation remains for study. The pastor has given much help to the library, has done valuable work for the literary club, conducts a young people's society that has been studying China recently, preaches thoughtful sermons, and has found time to serve as pastor" of a neighboring church since the death of its minister. This again is not a unique record, but merely one of many that have given honor to Andover and confidence in the alumni who went out from the Hill.

Long pastorates were more often possible in the country than in the town, though in either case the length of service depended partly on the man and partly on the people. Some churches grow restive under the guidance of the best of men, until like Dives they would not repent if an angel were sent unto them. Some ministers get restless in the best churches, and wander from place to place seeking satisfaction and finding none. Occasionally mere lethargy on the part of pastor and people accounts for a record of pastoral longevity, but usually a ministry of two or three decades in one church means real worth in a minister. Andover alumni did not soon exhaust their sermonic resources or have recourse to the bottom of the barrel. They knew how to study Scripture and problems in theology. They became seasoned veterans in the pulpit, trusted leaders in the churches, respected citizens in the community. It is not strange that they were sought as chaplains in legislatures and reformatories, secretaries for philanthropic and educational organizations, trustees of educational institutions, speakers on public forums. To be an Andover man was strong recommendation for a candidate at any New England church, at least before 1880.

It would be possible to make a long list of single pastorates of unusual length, like Storrs, Bradford, and Robie. Edward Robie, for example, completed his course at Andover in 1843.

Making his way to Europe at a time when few enjoyed the privileges of foreign study, he spent three years at the universities of Halle and Berlin. Returning to his native town at Gorham, Maine, he taught in the seminary there for two years, and then was appointed instructor in sacred literature at Andover, where he remained four years, filling the place of librarian part of that time. In the year 1852 he went to Greenland, New Hampshire, to become pastor of the Congregational church. He had found his niche, and there he was content to remain. It is said of him that he was a reader of the *Youth's Companion* for eighty-five years. Though a country pastor he was given the degree of doctor of divinity by Dartmouth and Bowdoin. William Salter at Burlington, Iowa, for more than sixty years, had one of the longest pastorates in the history of American Congregationalism. At the unveiling of his portrait in the state capitol of Iowa, the Governor said: "Men of his character and of his class are the men who have made Iowa what she is—a great, noble, peerless, Christian commonwealth."

Taken at random the annalist notes Darius A. Newton, class of '82, more than twenty years at Winchester, Massachusetts; Stephen M. Newman, class of '71, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., for twenty-one years; Charles H. Cutler, class of '86, minister at Bangor for a quarter of a century; Omar W. Folsom, class of '72, serving twenty-five years at Bath, Maine, and active in the state in missions and in the Interdenominational Comity Commission; George B. Spalding, class of '61, after succeeding Horace Bushnell at Hartford, went to Syracuse where he built a new church edifice, remaining twenty-five years; Cyrus H. Richardson, class of '69, at Nashua longer still; Charles E. Cooledge, class of '70, at Collinsville, Connecticut, for an equal length of time; James B. Gregg, class of '74, holding an outpost of Congregationalism at Colorado Springs, Colorado, for twenty-seven years, and honored with the degree of doctor of divinity by Harvard University; John R. Crane of the first Andover class of 1810, setting an example of long pastorates at Middletown, Connecticut, with one of his own which lasted

thirty-five years; Lucius R. Eastman, class of '61, pastor of Plymouth Church, Framingham, for about forty years, "cultured, devoted, learned"; Charles L. Hall, class of '74, out on the northwestern Indian frontier at Fort Berthold, North Dakota, for approximately forty years; Joel Haines, class of 1817, minister at Hartford for forty-six years, writing "Lectures to Young Men" and other books; William R. Campbell, pastor for fifty changing years at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, and a Visitor of Andover Seminary.

Among city pastors whose influence was deep and abiding were a number of other alumni who graduated from Andover in the quarter century between 1868 and 1892. DeWitt C. Clarke had a distinguished ministry in the Tabernacle Church, Salem. Charles L. Noyes was pastor in Somerville forty years, and was actively engaged in civic interests. He edited the "Pilgrim Hymnal," was a trustee of the Seminary, and was an active participant in the plans of removal to Cambridge. Charles F. Carter is remembered at Burlington, Vermont, and Hartford, Connecticut. He was president of the Andover Trustees at the time of removal. Nehemiah Boynton of the same class was the eminent leader of Congregationalism in Detroit and Brooklyn, and was elected moderator of the National Council. Carl S. Patton had pastoral service to his credit before he went to the church in Columbus, Ohio, so long served by Dr. Washington Gladden. Two subsequent pastorates at Los Angeles were bisected by a professorship in Chicago Theological Seminary. He, too, has been honored with an election as moderator of the General Council. Frederick H. Page, after a journalistic career and a ministerial apprenticeship in Boston, spent many years with churches in Lawrence and Waltham, and then was promoted to be president of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society. As president of the Trustees of the Seminary he had a large part in the planning and achieving of the affiliation of Andover and Newton.

To name these men is not to make invidious distinctions in a large body of alumni. They are but samples, a few more distinguished than the average. They could be duplicated more

than once from living alumni other than those mentioned. It is enough to say of an unnumbered multitude: They wrought well and their works do follow them.

Alumni interest was stimulated by the organization of an alumni society in 1827, "for the purpose of holding such meetings and performing such exercises as shall be promotive of their mutual edification and the prosperity of the Redeemer's kingdom." The Society drew up a constitution which provided for an annual meeting on Anniversary Week at the Seminary, with an address or a sermon. Dr. Storrs was chosen the first moderator. Vexations dogged the infant organization. The moderator was absent when the Society met the next year, the preacher failed to appear on account of ill health, and the alternate because he was not given "sufficient seasonable notice." With but a single meeting a year it required some effort to keep interest in the Society warm. In 1834 a committee of three was appointed to report a year hence on the best methods for producing more interest. At another meeting a standing committee was charged with the duty of preparing a necrology of alumni who had died within the year at the next annual meeting, but it failed to function. Another committee was named to secure portraits of Professors Woods and Porter to hang beside that of Stuart in the library, which students and friends had provided.

Necrologies were prepared after 1880, but the same difficulty of lack of interest prevailed among the alumni. The Association was reorganized in 1895 on a more definite basis, with an annual fee of one dollar. All officers of the Seminary, Trustees and Visitors, were eligible as members besides the alumni. The presidents of the two boards set the example by joining. All members were to receive the annual catalogue of the Seminary, the printed necrology, and the anniversary program. Two hundred and seventy persons were listed as members in 1897, and three hundred and twenty-eight the next year. Professor Park held the honor of being the oldest living graduate. The experiment of a social union of the alumni was held for a second time in Boston. The next year an alumni fund was proposed, which should be devoted first to a new

issue of the General Catalogue, which had not been revised for twenty years. The Alumni Association was reorganized in that same year of 1903.

To the people of the Atlantic seaboard the West spelled wider opportunity. America had meant that to their fathers who came from Europe, but the fertile valleys of New England were few and the Southern plantations were the property of a privileged aristocracy. With an expanding population America had to push out to the West. It was not only this centrifugal compulsion that drove, but an attraction that pulled. The West called to profit and adventure. Its broad plains, its lofty mountains, its majestic rivers, its sunset trail, were a magnet that drew from South and North alike. No young man could be oblivious to the attraction. Even theological students at Andover saw opportunity in the West for both service and adventure.

Attempts had been made by the General Association of Connecticut to send out local pastors as itinerant evangelists for a few months. The Connecticut Missionary Society was the result, followed by the Massachusetts Missionary Society. Both came into existence before the year 1800. The other New England states organized similar societies within the next ten years. In 1801 the Plan of Union was arranged between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians by which the two denominations were to combine forces for missionary effort.

The beginnings of settlement had been made in southern Ohio, and the Western Reserve along Lake Erie was developing along with the fertile western part of New York. President Dwight of Yale regarded the westward movement as highly significant for the future of the nation, and he felt the Christian responsibility "to lay out the streets and plant the foundations of literature and religion and to give shape to the institutions of society." It was this sense of responsibility that led three Andover students to discuss the plan of a national home missionary society, as they were riding in a stagecoach to a funeral at Newburyport, and that evening to talk it over at the house of Professor Porter. Nathaniel Bouton, who originated the idea, Aaron Foster, and Hiram Chamberlain were

the students. Not long afterward Foster discussed the matter before the Porter Rhetorical Society, advocating the settlement of local pastors as well as the itineracy of evangelists. His appeals were seconded by John Maltby at a special meeting of the Society. He urged "planting in every little community that is rising up men of learning and influence, to impress their characters upon those communities—a system that shall gather the resources of philanthropy, patriotism, and Christian sympathy throughout our country into one vast reservoir from which a stream shall flow to Georgia and to Louisiana, to Missouri and to Maine." The result was the application of six seniors for ordination as home missionaries. This resulted in the organization of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826, as the appeal of the earlier Brethren had brought the American Board into existence.

Foster, Maltby, and Chamberlain were among the first to be commissioned. Jeremiah Porter, graduating in 1828, founded the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago in 1838. Artemas Bullard of the next class eventually became pastor of the First Church in St. Louis, outpost of civilization in the Mississippi Valley. Back in 1812-15, Samuel J. Mills, John F. Schermerhorn, and Daniel Smith, all Andover men, had made journeys of exploration under the auspices of the Connecticut and Massachusetts societies from Lake Erie to New Orleans. They reported only one Congregational or Presbyterian minister in Indiana and none in Illinois. As a result Samuel Giddings, Andover, 1814, had been sent as missionary to Missouri. He made far journeys among the Indians and founded churches in western Illinois. Howe and Ellis of Andover settled promptly in Illinois after graduation. Ellis started a seminary at Jacksonville, and with the help of enthusiastic Yale men it became Illinois College. Truman M. Post, Andover, 1835, became one of its professors. Elihu W. Baldwin, class of 1817, dedicated Wabash College to Christ as he knelt in the snow of the primeval forest on a winter day. It was the temper of such men as these which made such a brave beginning.

The activity of these home missionary pastors appears in a

letter from Henry Little, Andover, 1829. Writing from his station in Madison, Indiana, he said: "I hardly know whether I may be most properly called a pastor (on a large scale), evangelist, missionary, or agent. In the Presbyterian church the Lord's Supper is administered once in two or three months, and at those seasons they have preaching two, three, four or more days. A large part of my Sabbaths have been spent at these meetings, and during the season the collection is made for the Home Missionary Society, and very often there has been something to be done in building a meetinghouse, removing an old debt, raising a salary for a pastor, or assistance in a revival of religion. At other times I have been in the woods a week introducing a missionary to his field, preaching every day. Or in gathering a congregation where a church is to be formed or a missionary sent."

Writing from Bedford, Indiana, about the same time, Solomon Kittredge, class of 1832, said: "For twelve years I have occupied a missionary field embracing one entire county and part of the time two . . . a field containing from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. . . . When I came here it was a moral desolation. There were no churches, no Sabbath, nor Sabbath-keeping people. The Sabbath was known or observed only as a holiday—a day for visiting, hunting, horse-racing, and the like. Business houses were kept open, and business transacted as on other days." But when he wrote there were three churches and a quiet village on Sunday.

Real hardship attended the life of the home missionary. He left behind him most of the comforts of the East. He took risks in his journeying. He felt the responsibility of a heavy task. "I commenced my labors in the ministry in 1830," wrote Lucian Farnham, who graduated from Andover that summer. "Late in the autumn of that year I arrived in this state [Illinois] where I have labored to this time, in season and out of season —in ceiled houses and log cabins, in school houses, in private dwellings, and in the open air without a house. I have traveled many thousands of miles through heat and cold, storm and calm, by night and day, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the prairie, in perils of waters—in hunger and thirst, in

weariness and painfulness, in watchings and fastings—I have made my lodging in the lone prairie without food or fire—with no shelter but heaven's canopy—no bed but the open wagon-box, and no music but the howling of the wolf. . . . By the grace of God I am what I am. It is wonderful condescension that God should give me a place in his vineyard."

One ever-present handicap was the need of becoming acclimated. Malaria haunted the prairies. Farnham's classmate, Ferris Fitch, found his settlement at Lower Sandusky, Ohio, forty miles by river from Lake Erie. Fitch described his experiences in vivid language. "During the summer the water is stagnant, and the land through which the river passes in its passage to the lake is prairie. When the vegetation begins to decay and the north wind to blow in the fall of the year, it rolls up the very quintessence of swamp miasma. In a village of one thousand people I have counted rising of five hundred sick at once. I have spent three months in visiting the sick without asking till Sabbath morning what I should preach. My hearers of course at such a time few. I have had eighty die within the bounds of my parish in one year. I have lived one month without taking off my clothes save for washing, or without lying down on a bed but once, then only for a few hours. I would get a little rest at night on a sofa in a sick room. I was often abroad at midnight, out at all hours. My family were sick, but amidst it all I enjoyed good health, and hardly knew what it was to be weary."

These dangers and difficulties did not daunt the men on Andover Hill. One class after another sent its quota westward. Except once no class failed to be represented until 1858. The classes of 1825 and 1829 sent twenty-three each. The classes of 1832 and 1843 each had twenty in the field. Nineteen men went among the Indians, ten among the Negroes, ten to work with sailors. Twenty-six different classes sent no less than ten each into home missionary service. They went into thirty-three states from Maine to Texas. Nor was it only in the first part of the century that the interest continued. Sixty-five representatives went from the Hill between 1873 and 1900.

An interesting experiment was the coöperative work of the bands of students who graduated at the same time from the Seminary. In the class of 1843 at Andover twelve men fell into the custom of meeting in the Library by moonlight for prayer. The need of the frontier people for spiritual help weighed upon their hearts. One of the number, Horace Hutchinson, had spoken a suggestion that was bearing fruit. "If we and some others," he said to two of his classmates, "could only go out together, and take possession of some field, where we could have the ground and work together, what a grand thing it would be!" The prayer group in the darkness was seeking for light on the future. After considering the possibilities of different sections, they decided to plan for a coöperative enterprise in Iowa. A farewell service was held in the South Church in Andover for the eleven young men who had elected to go. Dr. Leonard Bacon preached the sermon and the Home Missionary Society gave its blessing through Secretary Badger. Thus graduated into the home missionary ranks Ephraim and Harvey Adams, Ebenezer Alden, James F. Hill, Horace Hutchinson, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, Alden B. Robbins, William Salter, Benjamin A. Spaulding, and Edwin B. Turner.

The Iowa Band marked the beginning of a new growth of Congregationalism in the West. Most of the Congregationalists who had gone to the prairies, including the ministers, had adopted Presbyterian church relations. Only fifteen Congregational churches existed in Iowa when the Band arrived, but its members retained their Congregational polity and changed the course of denominational history. A Congregational historian enthusiastically testifies of them: "The West would be vastly poorer in its religious and educational life but for that timely renaissance, and chief among the agencies to which that recovery was due, is this band of Andover pilgrims, who were directed to the western bank of the Mississippi in 1843 with the Pilgrim polity as well as the Pilgrim faith glowing in their hearts."

Twenty-three years after the members of the Iowa Band said goodbye to their friends at the Seminary and the place

where they had knelt in prayer, other men felt the stirring of events in Kansas and were eager to cast in their lot with those who were settling there. Two of them, Sylvester D. Storrs and Grosvenor C. Morse, were New England born. Richard Cordley and Roswell D. Parker were from the newer State of Michigan. For a year they met for prayer with others of the students in one of the dormitory rooms, with the same earnest purpose which had animated the Iowa Band. They reached Kansas in time to participate in the struggle to keep the Territory free from slavery. They became religious leaders in the growing centers of population. Storrs in the capacity of State superintendent of missions organized more than one hundred Congregational churches in twelve years. Morse was the means of establishing a State normal college. They had to contend with barbarities of human conduct in the intense days of the Civil War. For some time the hardships of a new country were a handicap. Strenuous endeavor was necessary to keep the wolf from the church door. But they hung on and grew up with the country, recognized leaders in church and community.

It seems a bit strange to speak of Maine as home mission territory, yet the development of some parts of it and the decline of once thriving communities presented a field of opportunity comparable with the Far West when the frontier was on the point of disappearing. It was a realization of this fact that prompted the organization in 1892 of the Andover League for Work in Neglected Places, though it lasted only two years. Those who joined it agreed to give the early part of their ministry to the people of such communities. Relation was established with the secretaries of Maine and New Hampshire, and out of it came the Maine Band, composed of five men of the class of 1892. The five were ordained together at Farmington and settled near one another in two rural counties, Edwin R. Smith at Temple, Oliver D. Sewall at Strong, William W. Ranney at Phillips, Edward R. Stearns at New Vineyard, and James C. Gregory at Bingham. They frequently exchanged pulpits and held joint services with two or more of their number.

The veterans who had gone West in the early days were inclined to be rather scornful of the later alumni. Chauncy Eddy, who completed his Seminary course at Andover in 1821, was a man who had knocked about the country East and South, and later in life had settled down in Jackson, Illinois. He had evangelized on an island off the South Carolina coast until forty-five colored people had organized into a Baptist church, and three "females" had experienced religion. He had traveled in the frontier country of New York as an agent of the American Board and of the Western Education Society. He had raised money and had turned one hundred young men towards the ministry. For a short time he was secretary of the New York Colonization Society. Later in life he found settlement in the pastorate at Jacksonville, Illinois. He rejoiced in the freedom of the West, where a man had room to stretch himself, and he closed his letter with a sly dig at the young fellows. "Now I am not occupying any place which the young men coming out of the Seminary want, and so am not in their way. And I have a field of labor here where I can swing my arms as much as I please without hitting anybody, which, after abating all that is reasonable for mud, fleas, etc., etc., is far better than any New England parish. I have concluded if the Lord will to hold on a while longer. There is much to be done out in this central part of creation, which requires something more than such courage and enterprise as that is which of late comes out of seminaries to perform. I hope there are other gray heads at the East who will take their families on their backs and come out to clear up the country and prepare good parishes for the young men." These criticisms of the younger men may have been half in jest, but they were obviously unfair at a time when the Iowa Band had just entered the Mississippi Valley. Eddy himself was back in the Berkshire country of New England a few years later.

It took all kinds of men to make the West. Pioneers there were among them who liked the rough and tumble life, faithful trail blazers who pushed on regardless of obstacles, and refined and cultured graduates of the seminaries who became

pastors of leading churches and founders of schools and colleges. Andover had samples of them all. About two hundred and fifty men belong on her roll of honor as home missionaries, and many more who in part belong in that category. They helped to build that interior empire which has become the heart of America, saved to Christianity and a cultured civilization by the churches and schools that they established. Men of the Middle Border, men of the plains beyond, a few men of the Golden West beside the sea, they labored well and others have entered into their labors.

CHAPTER VI

ANDOVER MEN IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

IT is Andover's pride that her sons were pioneers in the foreign mission enterprise of the American churches. It was they who challenged the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts to find a way to send them as their representatives to the pagan peoples on the other side of the world. Out of Andover Theological Seminary went some of her firstborn to plant Christianity in Burma and peninsular India. A few years later others were making Palestine and Syria their goal, planting the banner of the Cross where the Crescent held the right of way. Soon still others were sailing to the heart of the Pacific and wresting Hawaii from grossness and idolatry. So splendid was Andover's contribution that the history of the missions of the American Board for the first quarter of a century is the story of Andover men and their sacrificial service. Repeatedly that service was the surrender of life itself, but as soon as one in the front line fell another was ready to step into his place. No more compelling is the call of the South to the waterfowl when the summer wanes, than was the Macedonian call from heathendom to the dormitories and classrooms on Andover Hill. They became preachers and teachers, writers and translators, advisors and administrators. They entered Asia from the west and from the east and dared the hostility of Turks and Chinese in the hinterland. They risked fevers on the tropical west coast of Africa and cholera in India and Persia. They created civilization in the Sandwich Islands, and they saw paganism crumble slowly in Ceylon. They planted schools for Greeks and Bulgarians, and healed the wounds of Armenian refugees. They threaded ways that are dark in China, and tried to penetrate behind the polite exterior of Japan. They were all things to all men if by any means they might gain some.

The missionary motive is as old as Christianity. It was aroused in America by the spiritual awakenings at the turn of the century. It had come in England through the initiative of William Carey, but he had been inspired by the revivals of the middle of the eighteenth century in England and America. The passion for missionary service for Americans abroad was in the heart of Samuel J. Mills as a result of the Evangelical Awakening, and when he went to Williams College, he kindled the flame among a few of his college friends. It is a familiar story how they talked over the needs of the heathen world, and how they drew up a constitution for their secret society and adopted it under a haystack, where they sought shelter from a sudden shower. To look upon those few paragraphs and the names of the organizers in cipher; to decode them and to read: "Constitution of a Society of Brethren, Williams College, September 7, 1808"; in imagination to see those humble dreamers storm the walls of conservatism until they gained the sanction of their older brethren in the ministry; and then to see them sailing the seven seas on an errand that was to the Greeks a stumbling-block and to the barbarians foolishness, but that was to prove the power of God to the breaking down of the strongholds of darkness—this is to thrill with the courage and faith of those resolute few who in the optimism of youth shrank from no danger and shirked no task.

The organizers of the Brethren scattered upon graduation from college, but the Society of the Brethren was transferred to Andover, where it continued for sixty years until it admitted to its membership Joseph Neesima and Robert A. Hume, one to go back presently to Japan and establish Doshisha University, the other to make missionary history in India. At Andover the Society was joined by Adoniram Judson from Brown, Newell from Harvard, and Nott from Union College. The first record of the Society at Andover is dated September 14, 1810, when the Brethren chose their officers for the year. Andover became the seed bed of missionary propaganda. Branches of the organization were formed at other seminaries, which reported to the parent society at Andover, but only a

very few students were interested. Andover students encouraged the others and sent out the largest number of missionaries. The original records continued to be kept in cipher until Pliny Fisk decoded them in 1818, with the constitution and a historical sketch of the Society. These were entered in a small black book, which served the Society throughout its existence.

The spirit of the members was deeply devotional. Every student who joined was required by the constitution to read and pray in order to determine his duty, whether he should spend his life among the heathen. Special devotions were observed on Sunday mornings and Tuesday evenings, and the second Tuesday in January was kept as a day of fasting and prayer for the missionary cause.

Samuel J. Mills continued to be the inspirer of the movement. Between his graduation and his going to Andover he was for a time in New Haven. Under date of December 20, 1809, he wrote to Gordon Hall at Andover, telling him about Henry Obookiah, the Hawaiian, who had been brought to America, and when the captain of the ship would no longer give him aid had been taken in by the big heart of Mills and made his *protégé*. "Here I intend he shall stay until next spring," wrote Mills, "if he is contented, and I trust he will be. Thus you see he is likely to be fairly fixed by my side. What does this mean, Brother Hall? Do you understand it? Shall he be sent back unsupported to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider these South Sea Islands a proper place for the establishment of a mission? Not that I would give up the heathen tribes to the westward. I trust that we shall be able to establish more than one mission in a short time, at least in a few years. I mean that God will enable us to extend our views and labor further than we have before contemplated. We ought not to look only to the heathen on our own continent. We ought to direct our attention to that place where we may to human appearances do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least. We are to look to the climate, established prejudices, the acquirement of languages, means of subsistence, etc., etc. All these things I

apprehend are to be considered. The field is almost boundless, for every part of which there ought to be missionaries."

Farther on in the same letter Mills continues: "With regard to Andover two of the Brethren are there. I think it not likely I shall go there myself soon, or within four or five weeks. I had previously heard of Mr. Judson. You say he thinks of offering himself as a missionary to the London Society for the East Indies? What! is England to support her own missionaries and ours likewise? O for shame! If he is prepared I would fain press him forward with the arm of a Hercules if I had the strength. But I do not like this dependence upon another nation, especially when they have done so much, and we nothing. As far as I am acquainted with his circumstances (indeed I scarcely know anything about him), I should think it would be better for him to remain where he is, or preach in our present field of missions for a time."

For the purpose of getting missionary information so that they might decide intelligently about their life work, the students at Andover organized the "Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions," January 8, 1811. Its expressed purpose was "to inquire into the state of the heathen; the duty and importance of missionary labors; the best manner of conducting missions and the most eligible place for their establishment; also to disseminate information relative to these subjects; and to incite the attention of Christians to the importance and duty of missions." One of the Brethren who had entered the Seminary the year before, speaking of the deep interest in missions, said: "I found that this subject lay with great weight upon the minds of a number. They were anxious to know what was their personal duty. The spirit of missions was there. I thought at the time, and have often thought since, that God then sent his spirit into the Seminary to convert the student to the subject of missions." The question of a man's duty was insistent. Said Dr. DeWitt S. Clark in his Centennial address: "It fronted him on every side—in the conversation of his companions, in his study of the Scriptures, in papers and discussions, in letters of travelers, in addresses, sermons and ordinations of those who had responded to the

call. . . . That famous haystack at Williamstown was no more the seat of missionary consecration and outlook than the round hillock in the thick wood just below this spot, where Mills and his little band gathered from time to time to renew their pledges of loyalty and talk together of the great world beyond, into which they longed to go as soldiers of the Cross."

The missionary enthusiasts were well aware that they must depend upon the good will of the Congregational churches. They appealed to the churches for contributions of money to enable them to buy books, and from various sources they obtained both money and books to the value of three hundred dollars. Most important was it to interest the ministers in their enterprise. The General Association of Massachusetts met in annual session at Bradford, six miles away, in June, 1810. Six of the Andover students were ready to offer themselves for missionary service if they could obtain the approval and support of the Association. At a small conference at the house of Professor Stuart, Samuel Newell told the professors and a few others what was in their hearts. The next morning Dr. Spring of Newburyport and Dr. Worcester of Salem drove across country musing and talking about what they had heard, and when four of the six students—more might have been too much of a shock to the Association—told their story, the plan was ready in their minds. By unanimous action the Association forthwith organized the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This was composed of nine men, originally all from Massachusetts, but the next year Connecticut was given four of the representatives and within two years the Presbyterians were welcomed to a part in the enterprise.

The Board was cautious and hopeful of ways and means, but it advised the students to continue their studies and wait for the proper time to come when they might go to the lands of their hearts' desire. Meanwhile it appointed a prudential committee and issued an appeal to the public. Judson carried the appeal of the students to England, hoping to get assistance there, but the London Missionary Society preferred that the Americans should respond to the appeal, though the Society

did not refuse assistance for a time. The result was that Judson, Newell, Hall, and Nott were soon under the appointment of the American Board to go to Asia, and money for their support was forthcoming. One may picture to himself that historic scene when Judson and Newell were ordained in the Tabernacle Church in Salem, of which Dr. Worcester was pastor, and their wintry departure with their youthful wives on the ship *Caravan* from Salem harbor, and one may follow in fancy their slow voyage to India. Theirs was the flagship of a mighty fleet. Five days after the *Caravan* cleared from Salem, the *Harmony* carried out of Philadelphia Nott and his wife with Hall and Rice.

After long voyages both ships arrived at Calcutta only to find the way blocked against the missionaries. The East India Company, which controlled the region, was hostile to missionaries, and the War of 1812 between Britain and America, declared the day after the *Caravan* arrived, made all Americans unwelcome. The only opening seemed to be in the island of Mauritius. Another long voyage sapped the strength of Mrs. Newell, and she died soon after arrival there. Hall and Nott escaped deportation to England only by a hurried departure to Bombay, which became the point of departure for the later Marathi mission. The indomitable Hall wore himself out within a few years. Newell, who soon joined them, died still earlier, and Nott returned to America. Judson, the enthusiastic, intrepid leader of the missionary group, found himself convinced of Baptist principles, and going to Burma became the representative of the American Baptists. Rice, with the same change of denominational affiliation, returned to America to become like Mills a promoter of missions among the churches of America. Strange must have seemed the fortunes of this forlorn hope, when the five pioneers were scattered so soon. Yet the permanent results were incalculable. The Marathi mission meant a foothold for the larger work that was to follow in the Indian Empire. Judson's transfer of denominational allegiance resulted in the organization of the American Baptists for foreign missions, and in Burma Judson with heroic struggle prepared the way for the brilliant missionary

success among the Karens, first evangelized by George Dana Boardman, a resident licentiate at Andover in 1824.

The year after the War of 1812 ended saw the first Andover men enter Ceylon. Newell had stopped there on his way to join Hall at Bombay and found a favorable situation, so that the next delegation from America was turned in that direction. Five more missionaries, Richards and Warren, class of 1812, Meigs, class of '13, and Bardwell and Poor, class of '14, all married except Warren, took possession of the peninsula of Jaffna for Christ. Bardwell soon was sent on to Bombay to push the work of publication. At Jaffna the missionaries found quarters in an abandoned Dutch mission, and following the educational methods adopted at Bombay, commenced the work of Christian education among 350,000 Tamil-speaking people, whose ancestors had emigrated across from South India. Preaching added effectiveness to the instruction of the schools. Spaulding and Winslow, both of the class of 1818 at Andover, arrived to reinforce them in 1820, barely in time to be admitted before the Government shut the door against any more American missionaries in Ceylon.

The missions were limited in resources and crippled in personnel, for the climate took fearful toll of missionary lives, and the attitude of the Government was reluctant if not unfriendly. More missionaries died than there were natives baptized. But nothing daunted the students who met under the auspices of the Society of Inquiry on Andover Hill. Graves represented the class of 1815 on his departure for Bombay, where he worked for twenty-six years. Nichols of the next class also went to Bombay, but he lived only six years. With all the odds against them the youthful missionaries kept at work. The care of boarding schools, the preaching and touring, the patient study of language, the time-consuming conversations with individuals whom they were trying to reach, filled their days. The need of trained natives as teachers warranted the establishment of a theological seminary in Ceylon, of which Daniel Poor was in charge for twelve years, an Andover man transplanted to the tropics of the Indian

Ocean. To provide suitable wives for the native men a seminary for girls was started also. Revivals cheered the hearts of the workers; defections from the ranks of the native Christians discouraged them, but there were a few who proved capable and true. The workers at Bombay explored the interior and selected Ahmednagar one hundred and fifty miles away as a center there. Persecution added to the troubles of the missionary, but perseverance always won in time, if the missionary did not die first. It was pioneering with all the perils and discouragements that check and seem to baffle, but with the missionary urge in their hearts the Americans could not stop.

A third mission of Andover men was to the Sandwich Islands. Obookiah had been at Andover intermittently, and when he died before he was ready to carry the gospel back to his own Hawaiian people, it seemed that men from the Hill must take his place. Asa Thurston, a graduate of Yale and of the class of 1819 at Andover, and his classmate, Hiram Bingham from Middlebury, agreed to go together. Ordained in Connecticut, and in Park Street Church in Boston organized into a church with others who were going with them, they sailed in the fall of 1819 on a five months' voyage to the heart of the Pacific. Bingham labored twenty-five years at Honolulu before he returned to America. Thurston, blessed with a strong physique, was able to remain forty-eight years in the islands without visiting America. Doubtfully received at first, though idolatry had been abolished, the missionaries soon made themselves welcome. Bingham's good nature and firmness won over Hawaiian royalty, and he became the friend and advisor of the sovereign. The natives loved him. Like Thurston he preached and translated the Bible into the language of the people as soon as he gained command of their tongue. He itinerated; he superintended native schools; he interpreted English for kings and chiefs, remaining until pioneer methods were no longer possible. Then back in America he carried on missionary propaganda, publishing a history of the mission as well as preaching and lecturing, until he passed on at the age of eighty. William Richards was a third Andover alum-

nus, going to Hawaii in 1822. He, too, was a teacher and an advisor of the chiefs, especially with the new constitution, which included a bill of rights based on the Bible. Richards was more than a missionary. For three years he was ambassador of the islands to Great Britain. He was minister of instruction, counsellor and chaplain to the king. He lectured on political science, and in his mission at Lahaina he was a father to the natives. John S. Emerson followed in the footsteps of the pioneers, centering his work at Waialua, toiling faithfully for thirty-five years.

The American Board depended on Andover graduates to man its fourth mission, that to the Near East. For years it had been a fond hope that Palestine might be won for Christianity. In the same year that Thurston and Bingham turned their faces westward, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, who had graduated recently from the Seminary, set sail for the Holy Land. That country was part of a vast Turkish empire where the Koran determined the norm of religion. But there were Jews in Palestine who had not forgotten the God of their fathers, and the youthful optimists from America hoped to persuade them of the worth of Christianity. They did not go at once to Jerusalem. From Smyrna as a base they toured Asia Minor, and after a year Parsons attempted to settle in Jerusalem, but political agitation delayed him, and the next year he was dead. His place was taken promptly by Jonas King, of the class of 1819 at Andover, who surrendered the prospect of an Andover professorship to fill temporarily the gap in the Near East. From Malta King and Fisk toured Egypt on the way to Palestine, studying languages meanwhile; explored Palestine and Syria to acquaint themselves with the land and the people; but before the work could be established King's time was up, and Fisk followed Parsons to a better country.

Before Fisk died Goodell and Bird had said goodbye to the brick halls of the Seminary, and on their arrival in the eastern Mediterranean had settled at Beirut for a Syrian mission. Because of its location Beirut proved the best missionary center for that region, and preparations were made for a varied

ministry in many tongues. Arabic and Syriac, Turkish and Armenian, Italian and English, were in use, and Bible translations were needed. The usual methods of publication and education were employed. Within five years six hundred pupils were in attendance. Persecution visited them, but converts came, and a church was established in Beirut; yet increasing peril drove the missionaries to Malta for a time.

Twenty alumni of Andover Seminary had thus ventured in ten years' time to carry the seed of the Christian faith and sow it in pagan lands. They found a stony soil and inhospitable people. Alike in India and Syria they met persecution and fell on death. Followers of the Apostle to the Gentiles whom they studied in Bartlet Chapel, disciples of the Master who had the courage to die on a cross, they did not flinch at hardship or even death. In the roll of honor of Andover men their names are gold. They fell at the listening post, but the summons of heathendom found its silent way behind the lines at home, and when training time was over reinforcements followed the pioneers.

The story of the missionary fortunes of Andover men is too long to follow in detail. It is a moving picture, bringing into view one country after another, introducing the observer to one and another of those who gave their strength to build the structure of the missionary enterprise. The panorama still moves on, and the Society of Inquiry still ponders upon the need and the message.

The missionary impulse, which had sent so many pioneers to distant lands, was propagating faith in the enterprise in America itself. It was the little group of devoted students who kept it alive at Andover. It was Mills among the Congregationalists and Rice among the Baptists, whose broad vision embraced home as well as foreign missions. Mills realized his own limitations as a toiler on the mission field, but he knew he could promote the cause at home. Touring the American Southwest, he explored the country as a possible mission field, and made himself useful organizing Bible societies and distributing the Scripture. While residing for a time among Presbyterians in the Middle States, he promoted mis-

sionary and Bible societies there. He took so great an interest in the negro that he crossed the Atlantic to explore West Africa for the African Colonization Society, and there his vigor burned itself out and he died at sea. Rice visited Baptist churches through the Eastern States, stimulated the raising of money and men, and broadened the scope of the Baptist missionary organization to include home missions and Christian education.

The spirit that wooed Samuel J. Mills did not cease to echo through Andover halls. At the fortieth Commencement of the Seminary, after addresses from twenty-eight graduates, they sang these words as a parting hymn:

"I cannot rest; there comes a sweet and secret whisper to my spirit
Like a dream of night,
That tells me I am on enchanted ground.
The voice of my departed Lord,
Go, teach all nations,
Comes on the night air
And awakes my ear.

Why live I here? The vows of God are on me,
And I may not stop to play with shadows or pluck earthly flowers
Till I my weary pilgrimage have done.
And I will go!

I may no longer doubt to give up friends and idle hopes,
And every tie that binds my heart to worldly joys.

Henceforth then it matters not if storm or sunshine be my earthly lot;
Bitter or sweet my cup,—
I only pray God make me holy and my spirit nerve for the stern hour of strife.

And if one for whom Satan hath struggled as he hath for me
Shall ever reach that blessed shore;
O how this heart will flame with gratitude and love!
Through ages of eternal years,
I'll ne'er regret
That toil and suffering
Once were mine below."

A new era opened for missions in India when the renewed charter of the East India Company gave them legal standing. Reinforcements in Ceylon made it possible for Spaulding and Poor to enter the city of Madura on the mainland, where they might work in the home country of the Tamils. The city was the center of a broad agricultural area. Definite progress was made. Nearly two thousand pupils were gathered into schools, new stations were opened, and the good will of government and people was won through the wisdom and moderation of the men of Andover who founded the mission. Miron Winslow, a classmate of Spaulding in the Seminary, was sent out to Ceylon after his graduation, and in 1836 was transferred to Madras. That city became the center of a publishing enterprise in which other denominations coöperated. Winslow mastered the language and then gave much of his time to a revision of the Tamil Bible. When time permitted he toured through the interior, sometimes ranging far. Such journeys were both exploratory and evangelistic. In the formative period of missions it was necessary to make surveys of the territory to be occupied and to plan carefully for future development. To reach the people it was necessary to speak in their tongue. Yet the educational approach seemed the best policy because it was gradual and would lead people to accept the gospel intelligently. The press was of similar value with the school. The Bombay printing-house grew in size. A Marathi edition of the Bible was issued there, while the Tamil edition came from the Madras press. Textbooks and hymn books were printed for school and church use. Tracts in large numbers poured from the presses, and eventually books for the increasing public who could read. And when difference of opinion arose among British missionaries whether it was better to teach the people of India through the vernacular or the English language, the Andover men were combining the two in their missions in Madura and Ceylon. Edward Webb, Andover, 1845, made a contribution that entitled him to be called the father of Christian Tamil music, when in the Madura mission he took the native pagan music cultivated through the Sanskrit, discovered a native Christian

poet who wrote Christian songs, and married the music and the poetry. From that time the native Christians enjoyed the musical part of worship. Out of the experience came the Madura hymn book with its hundred Christian songs, edited by Webb.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the missionary work in India was flourishing and new methods were being tried out. Central boarding-schools branched out into village schools, more preaching was undertaken, new churches were organized, the beginnings of self-support were made, and more dependence was placed on native leadership. Caste was a troublesome question, and attempts to check it were liable to wreck a mission. It required the wisest kind of leadership to know when and how to attempt radical changes in popular customs and ideas.

The missionaries who had gone to India early in the century were feeling the effects of long years of activity in a foreign country with a trying climate, but they kept steadily at their task. Winslow was prolific in his literary work for the Tamils, especially his Tamil-English dictionary. Spaulding passed the half-century mark in Ceylon, and lived until he saw the mission the most thoroughly cultivated of any of the Congregational missions. The greatest gain of the middle decades was the increasing self-reliance and participation of the Indian people in the development of Christianity in their country.

By 1880 the Marathi mission was ready to celebrate its semi-centennial. Eight stations, seventy-six out-stations, and twenty-four organized churches, with schools and an influential press, were powerful factors in keeping the Christian religion before the people. The relief given by the missionaries during the years of famine created a wave of friendly feeling from which all the missions benefited. It was a time for constructive work, especially through more and better schools. Andover alumni played no small part in the progress of all three of the India missions. Three men in particular were notable leaders of the period—Hume, Jones, and Washburn.

George T. Washburn was the oldest of the three. A Williams man and a graduate of Andover in the class of 1858,

he went out to India in 1860 and became one of the strong pillars of the Madura mission, remaining to the end of the century. A novel contribution was the *True News*. He founded it in 1870, edited it, and issued it as a semi-monthly newspaper through the Pasumalai Press. He carried this on as a part of his duties for twenty-six years. His major work was educational, as president of the Pasumalai Seminary and then of the College.

Robert A. Hume was born at Bombay, the son of a missionary father. After a college course at Yale and two years in the Divinity School, he completed his theological preparation at Andover with the class of 1873, and then set sail for the land of his birth. Locating at Ahmednagar, he made that city his future home and there he established and built up a theological seminary. His constructive labors in that school and the variety of his active leadership made Hume the outstanding missionary in India. Besides his care of the Seminary he had the superintendence of the Parner district west of the city for forty years. He sent out more than two hundred personally trained evangelists and teachers, and many churches and schools and one thousand conversions were the result. He was at one time or another principal of boys' and girls' schools, and editor of an Anglo-Marathi periodical. In addition to the service of his own denominational mission he sustained the common cause of Christianity, serving on committees of various organizations, and frequently as an officer. He was district secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, president of the All-India Christian Endeavor Union, and the first moderator of the United Church of Northern India, of which the Congregationalists were a constituent member. For his service in his administration of funds for famine relief in the closing years of the century he received the Kaiser-i-Hind medal from the British Government. On a furlough to the United States in 1904-1905 he was invited to give the Hyde lectures at Andover. These were collected and published under the title "Missions from the Modern Point of View," a book that took its place at once in the front rank of missionary publications. Altogether Hume saw fifty-two

years of service. At the end as at the beginning he was the same simple, efficient, kindly man, fond of work with his brother men, and interested in the welfare of India even when his active ministry was over. He was one of the far-sighted leaders who helped the missionaries make the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

John P. Jones was Welsh-born, only six months younger than Hume. His college was Western Reserve and he graduated from Andover in the class of 1878. He found his field of labor in the Madura mission, remaining there almost forty years. Soon after he had become acclimated and acquired a knowledge of the people and their language he was put in charge of the Madura mission, and from that time he was fully occupied with the direction of the evangelistic and educational operations. He kept preaching in the forefront of activity, and saw that schools were planted when there was need. He founded the first Christian high school, and for twenty-two years was principal in Pasumalai. He managed the mission press. Like Hume he received the Kaiser-i-Hind medal for his efficiency in relief. He traveled all over India and Burma as president of the South India Christian Endeavor Union. He was the author of "India's Problem: Krishna or Christ," a book widely read.

It was the yeoman service of men like these which built solidly the Congregational missions of India. Nor was it in their leadership alone. Other men wrought effectively in less conspicuous positions, doing their part of the day's work. Among Andover missionaries during this period or not long before were James Herrick, who spent nearly forty years in the Madura district; George H. Gutterson of the same mission; William A. Ballantine, a medical missionary; Henry J. Bruce, who served decade after decade in western India, printing religious books and millions of leaflets; and Edward Fairbank and Edward P. Holton, classmates at Andover, who each found a place for himself on the field.

The pioneer of the American Board in China was Elijah C. Bridgman, Andover 1829. When he arrived in the country Robert Morrison was his only predecessor. Studying with

him when he was not permitted to preach, he prepared himself for education and translation, and he edited the *Chinese Repository,* a monthly established to inform English-speaking people about the Chinese. His later life was spent in Bible translation at Shanghai. Lyman B. Peet, after seven years on the threshold in Siam, settled in Foochow after the Opium War had opened the ports, and remained for a quarter of a century. Henry Blodget served in Peking and other cities for forty years, was one of the translators of the New Testament into Mandarin, and translated books and hymns into Chinese. Chauncy Goodrich followed after he was through at Andover, and was in North China from that time. Isaac Pierson was twenty-one years at Pao-ting-fu. Henry D. Porter and Arthur H. Smith were both in the class of 1870 at Andover, and both spent long terms of service in the North China mission. Porter was trained in medicine, and was able to be of particular service in the famine of 1878. Smith portrayed village life in China in his books, and was a leader in his mission. He lived until 1932. William S. Ament was a missionary at Peking when the Boxer Uprising occurred. He knew the need of military defence against those who hated foreigners and he was well aware that without money it was difficult to work very efficiently, yet he showed the devoted spirit of all the missionaries in that trying time when he wrote: "I would rather ride a little donkey from village to village and sleep on bricks at night, with the privilege of testifying of the grace of God and communicating a little hope to the dull lives of this people than anything else." William P. Sprague and James H. Roberts at Kalgan, Harlan P. Beach at Tung-cho, and Charles A. Nelson at Canton, also belong on the roll of Andover names in China.

The first Andover name in Japan is Daniel C. Greene, Andover 1869. He commenced a mission in Kyoto, which became one of the centers of the work of the American Board in Japan. His is one of the prominent names in the missionary history of the denomination. The *Missionary Herald,* summing up his career, testified: "Founder of the American Board's mission in Japan, one of the translators of the Scrip-

tures into Japanese, educator, author, advisor to diplomats and legislators, father in the work to later missionaries, president of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and recipient from the emperor of Japan of the Third Order of the Rising Sun, the highest honor ever conferred on civilians living in the country." He was a member of the committee on the translation of the New Testament, and for several years was professor of New Testament exegesis in Doshisha College. The Doshisha itself is one of the trophies of American education. Because Joseph Neesima learned what American seminaries, including Andover, could do for him, he in his turn founded the college as a Christian university in Japan; and though for a time it lost its Christian character, it was a powerful influence in interpreting Western culture to Japan. It was in 1874 that Neesima was at Andover engaged in special studies. In that decade Marquis L. Gordon commenced a thirty-year ministry at Osaka and Kyoto, two-thirds of the time a professor in Doshisha College; James H. Pettee was stationed at Okayama; and his classmate, Otis Cary, another of the makers of the Japanese mission, professor in the Doshisha, and interpreter of the Japanese Christians to America and England through his monumental history of Christianity in Japan. Later names of Andover men include Samuel C. Bartlet, Sidney L. Gulick, champion of the Japanese in their differences with the United States over immigration, Henry J. Bennett, and Enoch F. Bell.

Out in the islands of the Pacific David B. Lyman toiled faithfully for more than fifty years, and Benjamin W. Parker for forty-five years, part of the time in the Marquesas Islands and for the last five years of his life the head of the Hawaiian Theological Seminary. Mark Ives was in Hawaii fifteen years, and George B. Rowell exceeded that record by seven years. Elsewhere than in Hawaii it was dangerous business to explore and attempt to deal with cannibals. Lyman and Munson were killed in the Batak country in 1834. George Pearson was able to devote five years to Micronesia, where the American Board coöperated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in the farther islands. The savagery of the islanders was

appalling, the distances were great from island to island. It was months between mails. But there never was a lack of those who were willing to make the sacrifice for the sake of the gospel of Jesus. The construction of the first missionary ship was a venture, but the contributions of the children of American churches and Sunday schools amounted to twelve thousand dollars, sufficient to meet the cost of the *Morning Star;* a farewell meeting was held in Park Street Church, Boston, for Hiram Bingham, Jr., Andover 1857, and his wife, and the new ship turned its prow to the South Sea. Twenty-one weeks later the ship arrived at Honolulu, where his father had wrought mightily for God. Then on to the Gilbert Islands, where the son took up his own task. Later he cruised among the islands as captain of *Morning Star, No. 2,* returned to Honolulu on account of ill health, but improved the opportunity to prepare literature for the Gilbert Islanders, translated the Bible, hymn books and his own commentaries into Gilbertese, and prepared a Bible dictionary.

Another Hawaiian missionary's son was Oliver P. Emerson, Andover 1871, who, after pastorates in the United States, performed secretarial service in Hawaii. Joel F. Whitney was his classmate, and he spent ten of the early years of his life in Micronesia.

The South Sea islands and the Far East had the lure of the far distance and the wide spaces; the Near East provided a better civilization, but with difficulties almost as great. The minds of the people were encrusted with the barnacles of their static formal religions. Ancient speculative dogmas and meaningless rituals had choked the life of the inner spirit. Syrian and Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian, each believed his own form of religion superior to the others, and the Turk scoffed at them all as inferior to his own Mohammedanism. It was sterile soil for the missionary's seed, but he kept sowing it even if little sprouted. Andover men had a distinguished part in the patient cultivation of the nineteenth century. Seventy-nine names belong to the roll of honor of the Near East in Andover's one hundred years; merely to list them is impossible.

Elias Riggs was one of those sturdy pioneers who never can

be overlooked. Leaving the Seminary in 1832, he served an apprenticeship in Greece and then for fifteen years made his headquarters at Smyrna, preaching and preparing textbooks for the Greeks. A visit from two of the American Board at home awakened an interest among the Armenians, and changed the direction of missionary activity from the Greeks to them. In harmony with the new plan Riggs was transferred to Constantinople. Already he had learned Bulgarian, and subsequently he translated the whole Bible into that language. At Constantinople his workshop turned out biblical material, translations and dictionaries, grammars and commentaries, in Turkish, Bulgarian, Armenian, and Chaldee. Busy as he was, he hardly counted the years as sixty-seven of them rolled by until at last the toll of them was over and he was laid to rest in 1901. In all that long time he visited America but once, when his health compelled, and then he superintended the electrotyping of the Armenian Bible in New York City and taught Hebrew at Union Theological Seminary. Though absent he was not forgotten, and American colleges fitly honored him with academic degrees.

Harrison G. O. Dwight lived for thirty years among the Armenians before his life was cut short by a railroad accident in America when he was on furlough. He saw the Armenian mission grow from one station at Constantinople to twenty-three stations and eighty-one out-stations scattered throughout the Armenian country. Forty-two churches had recruited sixteen hundred members, and almost two hundred pastors and teachers were at work. So rapid were the gains of thirty years. Dwight was spiritually minded, kindly, tactful but resolute, and statesmanlike in his policies. He encouraged self-support of native institutions. His death left vacant a place that was hard to fill. It was among the Armenians that William Goodell spent thirty-four years of his missionary life, translating the Bible into the Armeno-Turkish language. Disturbances of various kinds compelled him to pack up and move thirty-three times in twenty-nine years, but he gloried in his service. Benjamin Schneider left Andover in 1833 and until 1877 he was busy trying to keep pace with the rapid develop-

ment of the Armenian mission, and with all his other activities he translated books and tracts.

A few references like these to the Armenian mission convey little impression of the extent or intensity of the missionary enterprise among the Armenians. Particularly effective was the educational endeavor carried on at Aintab, Marsovan, and other centers. Over in Persia where the pioneers had sought out the Nestorians, Justin Perkins ended his labors of thirty-six years, which included the whole time from the beginning of the mission until it was transferred to the Presbyterians. Like so many other of the missionaries he was eminent in Bible translation. But he had a part also in establishing the eighty-five Christian centers and twenty-four hundred congregations, and in helping the hundreds of students in Christian schools. Nor was he the only Andover man to labor in Persia. The class of 1859 gave Ambrose for a short term and Labaree and Shedd for long service.

The Syrian mission was in time transferred to the Presbyterians, but not until Eli Smith had made his translation of the Bible into Arabic, had used his knowledge of Hebrew, Turkish, Italian, French, and German to widen the usefulness of the missionary press, had explored as far as the Nestorian country, and had helped Robinson in his Palestinian researches. He was Hopkinsian in his theology, and he preached in Arabic the truths of the gospel as he understood them. William Bird was in Syria for a half century. Daniel Bliss went from Andover about the time that Smith died, founded the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, and saw it grow in thirty-six years from sixteen to six hundred students. He wrote philosophical textbooks in Arabic. Edwin E. Bliss spent an equal length of time in publication work in Constantinople, including a newspaper issued in three languages, which circulated among ten thousand readers. In the same city of Constantinople William G. Schauffler labored among the Spanish Jews living there, and prepared the Bible, a grammar, and a lexicon in their language. Later he gave his time to the Mohammedans. C. F. Morse opened the Bulgarian mission at Adrianople, William W. Meriam worked at

Philippopolis until he was murdered by brigands, and William Arms was located near by. In Bulgaria James F. Clarke had one of the records of almost fifty years, which would seem wonderful if not repeated so many times. In 1872 George D. Marsh went from Andover to Bulgaria for a long lifetime of service. Soon after he arrived a more rapid development began, which brought more participation of native workers, and an increased number of converts. Henry C. Haskell, Andover 1862, who spent twenty-five years in Bulgaria, wrote to the Society of Inquiry at the Seminary that in spite of all the traditions of Christianity that the people had had for a thousand years their moral and spiritual condition showed the utter inability of their form of religion to bring the people into fellowship with God. This justified all the efforts of American Congregationalists in a nominally Christian land.

George F. Herrick had an almost unparalleled record in Turkey. He graduated from Andover in the class of 1859, sailed for Constantinople that autumn and was there at intervals until 1893, when he made it his permanent residence. At one time he was teaching in the theological seminary at Marsovan, at another time was president of Anatolia College. For five years he served on a committee of three in the revision of the Bible into the Turkish and Armenian languages, and he translated theological textbooks and commentaries into Greek as well as Turkish and Armenian. The disasters that overcame the Armenian mission after the World War, and the growing tide of religious skepticism in the lands of the Near East, cannot dim the glory of these men and women whose blessed influence brightened and ennobled the life of their generations for a century.

In Africa the small beginnings that Grout and Champion made in the Zulu country were reinforced at the middle of the century. Lewis Grout remained there for sixteen years; half of that time the progress was very slow, but before he returned to America he felt himself rewarded. Thereafter missionaries found more time to engage in education. William Ireland went from Andover to spend forty years in the mission. George R. Ferguson of the class of 1859 became a missionary

of the Dutch Reformed Church and principal of the Missionary Training School at Wellington. Erwin H. Richards was commissioned by the American Board, and later was under the direction of the Methodists. The Zulu mission had a self-propagating power through native evangelists. Herbert D. Goodenough, arriving in 1881, ministered in education and administration. The outstanding Andover figure in West Africa is William Walker, who in the tropical Gaboon territory remained in service for thirty years, returned to America in the service of the American Board for five years, and then went back to Africa under the Presbyterian Board for six years longer.

A few men from Andover Hill found their posts in Latin American countries. In an environment of ignorant, superstitious Catholics and under governments that were unfriendly to Protestants, it was exceedingly slow and discouraging work, but Nathaniel P. Gilbert was in Peru and Chile for a number of years, and Theodore S. Pond after twenty years in the Near East commenced an extended period of service in the northern part of South America, first in Colombia and then in Venezuela. Mexico claimed more of Andover's sons. James D. Eaton, Andover 1872, opened the Northern Mexican mission at Chihuahua in 1882. His experience was typical of other missionaries in the same country. The Roman Catholic Church was losing its grip, but was fighting to retain it. The local Catholic authorities nailed to the church door a notice that any one who did not boycott the missionary would be excommunicated, yet in twenty years the local Protestant church took into membership two hundred and fifty persons, and fourteen other churches had been organized in the State of Chihuahua. One of the churches was so inaccessible that it took thirty days to make the journey there on muleback.

Congregational missionaries to the American Indians in the early part of the nineteenth century operated under the American Board, and among them were several Andover men. Cyrus Kingsbury of the Andover class of 1815 went to the South and served as Congregational missionary to the Cherokees and Choctaws for forty-two years. He went with them

when they removed west to the Indian Territory, and after 1859 was commissioned for eleven years by the Southern Presbyterian Board, thus completing fifty-three years of missionary service. Alfred Wright of the next class was with the Indians for thirty-four years, Cyrus Byington was missionary to the Choctaws for nearly fifty years. Samuel A. Worcester, graduating from Andover seven years after Wright, gave the same length of service to the Cherokees. These men felt keenly the injustice that Georgia forced upon the United States Government in its dealings with the Indians, and they were glad to accompany them when possible on their arduous journey west. It was the policy of the missionaries to train the Indians to be useful in the manual arts, and to give them an education as well as to teach them the truth about religion. Encouraging progress was made in the South, but the whites wanted the Indian lands and tried to get rid of the missionaries. When Worcester stood by his mission he was thrown into prison and kept there for fifteen months.

With the scattering of the southern Indians the American Board pushed out its stations among the northern Indians also, even as far as the Pacific coast, but small results were gained. Cutting Marsh, Andover 1829, was sent by the American Board to work among the Stockbridge Indians, who at that time were in the region of the Great Lakes. Seventy of these Indians were gathered into church membership. From Andover Boutwell, Hall, and Wheeler went to the Ojibwas and settled in Minnesota; Wright, Bliss, Wight, and Ford sought out the Senecas in New York; Edmund McKinney found his way to the Choctaws and the Omaha Indians, Willey to the Cherokees, and Ranney to the Pawnees and Cherokees. All these were in service before 1850. It was of course impossible to do more than ease the transition to civilization for a vanishing race, but the missionaries were as earnest in their work in America as were the workers on foreign fields.

Perhaps in no way did Andover men render more distinguished service than in their literary labors. The missionaries who had known the serviceableness of the Andover Press valued printing as one of the best means for the propagation

of Christianity, and they emulated Professor Stuart in their diligence in preparing literary material for the printer. Patiently studying native tongues, sometimes creating a written language, and then translating the Bible by laborious process extending over years, the missionaries made the Scriptures available in the vernacular for Tamil and Marathi, for Turk and Armenian, for Greek and barbarian, for Kanaka and Cherokee, and even for the natives of Africa. The necessary helps of dictionary and grammar and commentary accompanied Bible translation. Textbooks for school use and tracts to carry the gospel message came from the missionary presses, and now and then especially useful books in English were translated for the benefit of the native Christians.

As the nineteenth century drew toward its close the Society of Inquiry wrote letters to prominent missionaries in the Near and Far East, asking for first-hand information about their activities. The replies of the missionaries, busy men as they were, showed an appreciation of the interest of the students in writing them. Hume of India, Smith of China and Herrick of Turkey, expressed cordial interest in the Seminary that had mothered them, and hoped that students would not fail to follow on to the mission field. Every one of them after long years of experience rejoiced in his task and thought of nothing more desirable than to carry on as long as God should give life and strength. William A. Farnsworth, Andover 1852, after forty-six years of service, writing from Cæsarea, told of his care of a territory six times as large as Massachusetts with thirty-four communities that must be visited at least once a year. He explained to the students at Andover that the missionary must know how to deal with men, to read character, to sympathize with every need, and to aid the distressed; in short, hardly any good quality of head or heart would fail to be summoned to his help. A missionary in Ceylon suggested that, since several of the early members of the Society of Inquiry had been founders of the Ceylon mission, it would be fitting for present and future members of the Society to build several inexpensive schools in the island to celebrate the centennial of the mission.

THE MISSIONARY BOULDER IN ANDOVER

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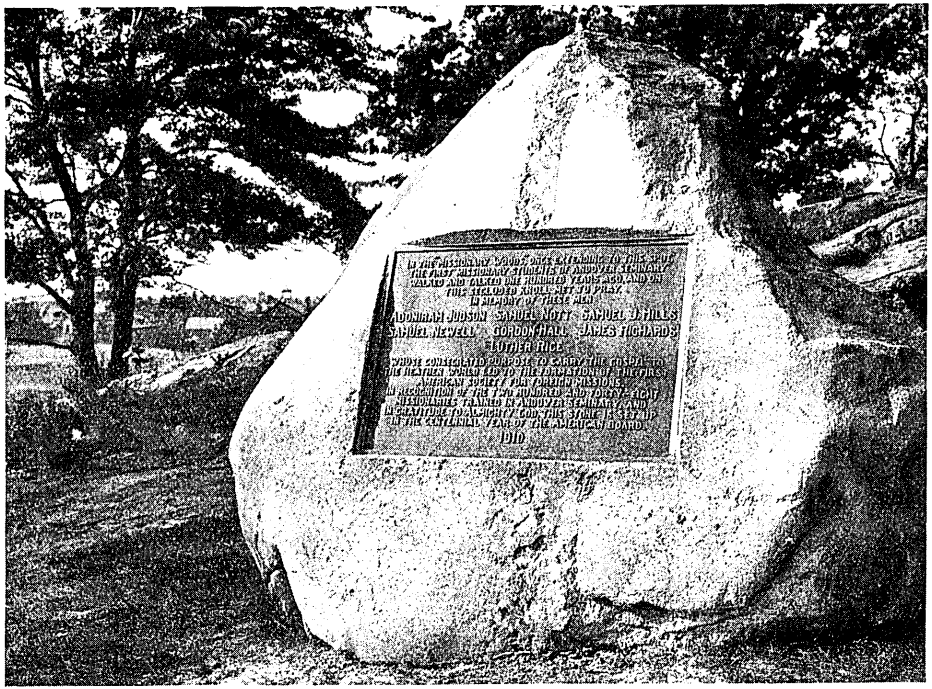


THE MISSIONARY BOULDER IN ANDOVER

The celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the American Board in Boston included a visit to Andover and the placing of a tablet to the memory of that little company of Brethren which made the nucleus of the mighty enterprise which had gone around the world. After a century the Board was spending a million dollars a year, and was sponsoring six hundred missionaries. Andover had a brilliant record in missionary service. In the first ten years every missionary but one was trained on the Hill. One hundred and twenty went abroad in the first fifty years. During the century two hundred and forty-eight alumni had answered the Macedonian call. The five hundred visitors who went to Andover by special train and wended their way to the Missionary Woods near the Seminary felt the thrill of it all. The exercises of the hour of dedication were impressive. The tablet was unveiled and prayer was offered by relatives of the pioneers, Richards and Hall. The large company sang the missionary hymn, "The Morning Light Is Breaking," which was written by Samuel Francis Smith while a student in Brick Row. The tablet was affixed to a granite boulder erected by the citizens of Andover, and bore the impressive inscription:

"In the 'Missionary Woods' once extending to this spot the first missionary students of Andover Seminary walked and talked one hundred years ago, and on this secluded knoll met to pray. In memory of these men

Adoniram Judson	Samuel Nott	Samuel J. Mills
Samuel Newell	Gordon Hall	James Richards
	Luther Rice	

whose consecrated purpose to carry the gospel to the heathen world led to the formation of the first American society for foreign missions. In recognition of the 248 missionaries trained in Andover Seminary and in gratitude to Almighty God, this stone is set up in the Centennial year of the American Board, 1910."

CHAPTER VII

ANDOVER MEN IN EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

TO study on Andover Hill was to expand the horizons of thought as well as of sympathy. To pass in review the centuries of history and think other men's thoughts after them was like breathing the invigorating atmosphere of the hills. To muse upon the problems of philosophy and theology was like climbing a mountain range to view a region in perspective. As was said at the Centennial in 1908: Old Andover had the spirit of "creative imagination able to discover the universal in the particular and to make of the familiar experiences of a New England village a stage broad enough on which to pass in review the procession of the eternities."

It was this characteristic which qualified Andover men to become educators. They did not have the special knowledge of a modern doctor of philosophy or the pedagogical methods of the best normal schools of the present day, but at least they knew how to think and to prod other minds to think. Not many schools of that time were so well qualified as Andover to give the intellectual training that was needed for the teaching profession. In the first decade the colleges were seldom above junior grade and their graduates were not mature. The three years in the professional school added much to the intellectual equipment. Another reason why theological graduates should be chosen as college presidents was the custom of selecting a minister and expecting him to teach philosophy, if not theology. The increasing number of new schools on the frontier as well as the older New England institutions made a heavy demand for teachers in college and academy. It is

these considerations that make it easier to understand why so remarkable a succession of educators should be found among Andover alumni.

It is impressive to call the roll of colleges that invited Andover men to be their presidents. In New England they include Bowdoin and Dartmouth, Middlebury and the University of Vermont in the northern tier of states; Amherst, Smith and Brown in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In New York were Hamilton, Union, and Vassar. Five were in Ohio: Antioch, Marietta, Oberlin, Western Reserve, and Ohio Female College. Moving steadily westward one finds Andover alumni at Wabash, Indiana, Illinois and Knox in Illinois, Drury in Missouri, Washburn in Kansas, Colorado among the Rockies, and Pomona in California. In a more northerly latitude are Adrian and Olivet in Michigan, Beloit in Wisconsin, Iowa College in Iowa, and Fargo in North Dakota. Howard University in Washington, D. C., Atlanta in Georgia, Rollins in Florida, Fisk in Tennessee, and state colleges in Alabama and Tennessee, gave wide representation to Andover in the South. For good measure the universities of Wisconsin and Kansas should be added. And overseas were Robert College in Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Among the personal names are some of the greatest presidents in the history of these institutions. It is enough to name Hyde of Bowdoin, Tucker of Dartmouth, Marsh of Vermont, Stearns and Harris of Amherst, Seelye of Amherst, and Wayland of Brown, men illustrious in the ecclesiastical as well as the educational history of New England.

Names like these connected with the best colleges and universities of the East give distinction to any school that has helped to train them, but less known colleges on the frontier have their heroic leaders whose achievements add lustre to the schools where they found themselves. Out in the Northwest where the wheat fields reach to the horizon in summer and blizzards blot out that same horizon in the dead of winter is a college which does not forget to honor the man who made it. Joseph Ward graduated from Andover in the class of 1868. He had been in the army and the Christian Commission during

the Civil War and then had completed his course at Brown. He went to Andover Seminary in the fall of that year and graduated at the age of thirty, a man ready for the challenge of a big task. It came to him from South Dakota. For fourteen years he grew into power in the community and the state while he served as a home missionary pastor in Yankton. He had the joy of welcoming the Dakota Band from Yale College, and helping to place the men in strategic locations. The people of Yankton made Ward superintendent of the local schools, then he became a member of the State Board of Education. In 1883 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of the Territory which was becoming a State. People trusted his leadership, for they knew his character and ability. He matched swords with politicians and beat them. Then, as if he had not spent his life in public service already, he gave the rest of the time that was his to the creation of a college. Yankton College is his monument. He rallied the youth of the region for an education, and went East for the money to build the college. He assumed the presidency and taught mental and moral philosophy from the beginning. He selected the Faculty. Before he was fairly engaged in the enterprise he lectured at Andover on "The Building of Society in the New States." He had only a few years left for service but he filled them full. He belongs among the builders of the West.

With these administrators belong Cecil F. P. Bancroft, who was the able principal of Phillips Academy at Andover for twenty-eight years, and his successor, Alfred E. Stearns, who between 1900 and 1933 reconstructed the Academy into a modern institution in the front rank of its kind. Samuel H. Taylor was over an equal period of time an outstanding figure as a teacher of the classics. At Phillips Academy, Exeter, Gideon L. Soule spent half a century, including thirty-five years of administration as principal.

One hundred and fifty professors of colleges were Andover alumni. The first class contributed a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy to the University of Vermont, the second another to a similar chair at Yale. The four classes from 1817 to 1820 sent presidents to Wabash and Western

Reserve, and professors to institutions as far apart as Bowdoin, West Point, University of North Carolina, and the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia. Among the illustrious names of later years are George P. Fisher of Yale, Charles A. Young of Princeton, Jeremiah L. Diman of Brown, Edward P. Crowell of Amherst, Joseph H. Thayer and George H. Palmer of Harvard, Moses C. Tyler of Cornell, and Samuel V. Cole, who made Wheaton Seminary into a woman's college.

Andover's position as a pioneer among seminaries fitted her to train men to teach in other divinity schools. Yale and Harvard profited thereby, as did the Episcopal schools at Cambridge and Alexandria, and Lane Seminary, the Presbyterian school in Ohio. The first two professors at Newton Theological Institution, Irah Chase and Henry B. Ripley, were Andover alumni, and they modeled the Baptist seminary after Andover. Horatio B. Hackett, renowned as a Greek scholar in his time, trained theological students at Newton and Rochester. No less than eleven men went from Andover to chairs in the seminary at Bangor. George W. Andrews of the class of 1867 trained ministers among the Negroes for forty years at Talladega College in Alabama. John W. Buckham of the class of 1888 went to the Pacific coast. And on the foreign mission field it was Andover men who taught native preachers in many of the mission schools.

These men are representatives of scores of others. To list a catalogue of them is far less impressive than to sit down and study the record of their lives. Most of them were teachers of subjects akin to the theological discipline, some of them famous men in the theological departments. Not least among their contributions was the number of men who were chosen to fill places on the Faculty of the institution itself, Andover alumni for Andover Seminary. Among them are Park and Phelps, Tucker, Harris, and Hincks, Smyth and Churchill, and thirteen less known to Andover men of recent years.

There are other alumni of the Seminary who rendered unique service in administrative positions, sometimes akin to an educator but in other cases far removed.

Thomas H. Gallaudet graduated from Andover in 1814 with bright prospects for success in the ministry, but his interest in the deaf and dumb turned him aside. Presently he accepted an appointment to become the head of the Connecticut asylum for such defectives at Hartford and he established it on firm foundations. Later in life he was chaplain of a county prison and then of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane. He was prominent in philanthropical societies, a writer, and an acceptable preacher. Louis Dwight, Andover 1819, gave most of his life to work for prisoners. He was the wheel-horse of the Boston Prison Discipline Society for thirty years, and the inspiration of the daily morning prayer meetings in the Old South Chapel of Boston. A younger alumnus by forty years, William J. Batt, was chaplain of the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord, where in twenty-five years sixteen thousand prisoners came under his influence. George Dustan was chaplain at the Insane Retreat and Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum at Hartford.

Moses Smith, Alvah L. Frisbie, Asa S. Fisk, and John E. Goodrich, were among the army chaplains of the Civil War, and filled places of large usefulness afterwards in church and college and secretarial chair. Walter Cotton was chaplain in a military academy, then in the United States Navy. While stationed on the Pacific coast he was made alcalde, or chief magistrate, of Monterey, California, during an emergency.

Andover men turned their energies and abilities in many different directions. One man wrote the Conversation Corner for the *Congregationalist;* another, the son of the inventor of the Fairbanks Scales, became himself an inventor and took out more than thirty patents; one man became an eminent microscopist, and another a college lecturer on ornithology. Henry A. Schauffler fathered the Slavic department at Oberlin and the Cleveland Training School; Judah Isaac Abraham was a missionary of the American Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews; Samuel W. Dike occupied a unique place as organizer and for twenty-eight years secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, working at the same time to introduce social subjects into educational institutions.

Daniel W. Waldron for forty years was connected with the City Missionary Society of Boston, and sixteen years its secretary. Full of energy and devotion, he had oversight of an agency which visited thirty thousand families in a year, aided four thousand sick, distributed sixty thousand papers and tracts, held hundreds of meetings and brought children into Sunday schools and adults into church membership in surprising numbers. With the rest of his obligations he was chaplain of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

It would be idle to attempt to enumerate the men who served as secretaries of denominational and undenominational organizations. They commenced their activities very early in the history of the institution, when new organizations were coming into existence rapidly, and they continued to direct such enterprises through the first Andover century, until more than two hundred and fifty men had occupied such positions in seventy-two different societies. The American Tract Society used thirty-two, the American Home Missionary Society twenty-four, and the American Bible Society almost as many, while the American Board, the American Missionary Association, the Congregational Education Society, and the American Sunday School Union turned again and again to Andover men for such service.

Andover's influence in the Congregational denomination is apparent in the records of its organizations. When the National Council of the Congregationalists was organized, the committees on polity and creed, composed of six men, included five Andover alumni. Alonzo H. Quint, Andover 1852, wrote the Burial Hill Declaration of 1865. Eleven alumni were on the commission of twenty-five which drew up the Creed of 1883. Dr. Quint was the first secretary of the Council, continuing for twelve years. Andover men were the prominent preachers at the meetings of the Council. Among them were Storrs, Bacon, Mackenzie, Fisher, and Tucker.

There are times when the pen is mightier than the pulpit, and Andover editors sometimes have wielded a trenchant pen. There have been more than seventy of them. Henry M. Dexter moulded the thought of readers of the *Congregation-*

alist. William H. Ward was one of the great editors of the country from the time he became editor-in-chief of the *Independent* in 1870. He was versatile in his interests and abilities, a poet, an Assyriologist of note, a worker for church unity, and active in numerous societies and boards with the single desire to be useful. R. S. Storrs was one of the editors of the *Independent.* Joseph P. Thompson, Andover 1841, was one of the founders of the *New Englander* and of the *Independent.* Rufus Anderson and Elnathan E. Strong published many volumes of the *Missionary Herald.* Charles Parkhurst found his desk in the office of *Zion's Herald* of the Methodists. Amory H. Bradford could take time from his church at Montclair, New Jersey, to act as associate editor of the *Outlook.* The founder of the *Boston Recorder,* said to be the first religious newspaper of the world, was an alumnus of Andover, for Andover antedated even that event. Albert E. Winship made the *Journal of Education* a power in the field of secular education. More than one man found a field of influence in a country newspaper.

Professors Park and Edwards called a conference at Andover in 1850 and planned the organization of the Congregational Library Association. The Association started the *Congregational Quarterly,* with Dexter, Quint, and Joseph S. Clark as editors. Clark had been secretary of the Massachusetts Home Mission Society and author of "A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts from 1620 to 1858."

The name of Joseph Cook, Andover 1868, was a household word in New England while he was delivering his two hundred and fifty-two Monday noon lectures at Tremont Temple in Boston.

The authors of books among Andover alumni are legion. To choose among them would be invidious. They range through all the fields of literature and learning. They seemed to agree heartily that of the making of books there is no end. If you would find their monument, go into the Library and look around you.

At the very outset the Seminary had the advantage of a

library in the Academy. By vote of the Trustees the theological students were permitted to use it and to take books as loans. It was realized that this was only a makeshift, and that the Seminary must have a library of its own, and gifts came in promptly for that purpose. Brown and Norris each gave a thousand dollars. The source materials for theological and biblical study were in Europe, and Professor Stuart eagerly purchased there as his acquaintance with Hebrew and German literature grew. Dr. Spring and other Hopkinsian leaders were apprehensive of foreign literature, preferring to make sure that the books were safe theologically first of all. There is no evidence that they ever went so far as to suggest an *index expurgatorius,* but they had a hearty fear of heresy and criticism. Professor Woods did not share that fear any more than Professor Stuart, and was willing to accept books from any source. He spent much of the summer before the opening of the Seminary in trying to get together a respectable number of books for the beginning of the school, and he hoped for a fund or a gift of ten thousand dollars for that purpose.

For nearly sixty years the Library was in the care of one of the Trustees or professors, with one of the students as acting librarian. The salary in 1810 was fixed at one hundred and fifty dollars. A large proportion of the books were exegetical, a great many of them were in the German language. In the year 1815 the sum of sixteen hundred dollars was available for the purchase of books, and the authorities went so far as to petition Congress for exemption from the payment of duties on books imported for Seminary use. Edward Everett, who was professor of Greek at Harvard, generously gave his services abroad to the selection and shipping of books for the Seminary. Professor Stuart kept a list of prospective purchases to be checked off as funds increased. In such a list biblical titles were the most numerous, and early in its history the Library became the possessor of a variety of old lexicons; its collection of Bibles formed a nucleus for a valuable library in that department. As early as 1819 there were seventeen editions of the Hebrew Bible, omitting duplicates, three English editions, three Latin, and three polyglot. At one

time or another the Library has obtained such precious volumes as a large folio of Luther's German translation, published in Nuremberg in 1736; Genevan Bibles, one a black letter edition of 1578 and another an edition of 1607; and a black letter copy of the Authorized King James Version, dated 1617. Many rare old volumes are in the Library that have come from French, Dutch, German, and Italian presses, some in black letter with illuminated initials.

A specially interesting Hebrew Bible bears the autograph of Increase Mather. It was issued from an Antwerp press in 1613. There are many Greek texts of the New Testament, including a copy of the Complutensian Polyglot of Ximenes, the Spanish scholar. The collection includes old Bibles which once belonged to Mills and Newell, and letters of the early missionaries. Most interesting of all the Bibles are two copies of the Indian Bible, translated so laboriously by John Eliot, the Indian missionary, and now unintelligible, since all for whom he prepared the edition have vanished to happier hunting grounds. The copy of the first edition came into the possession of the Library through the Society of Inquiry, to which it was given by James Chater, a Baptist missionary at Colombo, Ceylon, in April, 1818; the second edition was a present to Dr. Pearson as early as 1800. The title page reads:

Mamusse
Wunneetupanatamwe
Up-Biblum God
Naneeswe
Nukkone Testament
Kah wonk
Wusku Testament

Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ
noh asoowesit
John Eliot

Cambridge
Printenoop nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson
1663

On the back are the verses:

By what means may a young man best
His life learn to amend?
If that he make and keep God's word,
And therein his time spend.
Psalm CXIX

Ye Indians who receive the word,
Come read it, one and all!
You'll find it in ye Library
In Master Gore his Hall.
Wowaus
alias John Printer

The book bears the inscription: "Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England at the charge and with the consent of the Corporation in England for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England."

Among other treasures are early New England prints, including an Old Farmer's Almanac of 1808, the first year of the Seminary; three pamphlets from the press of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia; and the United States flag made by Mrs. Stowe and flown from the flagstaff on the Hill during the Civil War.

After the erection of Bartlet Chapel the Library was installed on the second floor of that building, which gave it fair quarters for those days. Then the Faculty requested the Trustees to have the books classified and catalogued, and the Library opened for student consultation one day in the week. Up to that time the doors were not open at regular hours, and a student had to get access as best he could. It was suggested to the Trustees that in other institutions, better facilities were enjoyed, but as late as 1830 the Library was kept open only one hour a day, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, so as to save wear and tear. The professors took occasion to express a protest for themselves that they were allowed only twelve books at one time, when formerly twice that number had been allowed.

The request for a catalogue of the books proved effective. The first catalogue was issued in 1819. The work was done carefully, and included details of the contents of certain volumes of collections. Students waited nineteen years for a new edition, which contained certain facts about the authors as well as their names and the titles of their books. Later the Trustees sanctioned a scientific catalogue, as proposed by Edward Robinson when he was librarian. The Trustees allowed him a dollar and a quarter a day for the time employed at that particular task. A number of gifts came to the Seminary because of Robinson, and his expert knowledge made it possible for him to buy profitably when he was in Europe. The Porter Rhetorical Society and the Society of Inquiry printed catalogues of their libraries in 1830. They knew by experience the value of a catalogue from the lack of a suitable one for the Seminary Library. One can imagine the look of amazement on the face of an Andover Rip Van Winkle if he should walk into the catalogue room of Andover Hall in Cambridge today, or the reading room of the Hills Library at Newton Centre.

In 1820 every student was required to pay a library tax of three dollars annually. Since there were one hundred students in the Seminary at that time the income was considerable. The librarian had to give bonds, and it would not have been surprising if the members of the Faculty had been required to do the same. Dr. Woods was criticised for permitting some one to carry books out of town without consent of the librarian. It appears that men who were blameless in the creed now and then lapsed in library etiquette or were absent-minded. The Trustees asked the professor to explain, and he did so in a written communication.

Student faults seem to have existed then as one hundred years later, for in 1833 three books were taken from the Library without any record; the Trustees expressed surprise that a theological student should have been guilty of such infraction of the rules, and they ordered the guilty person to return the books at once. The regular fine for keeping books overtime was 6¼ cents for half a week. The borrow-

ing privilege was restricted to the Faculty and students of the Seminary, Trustees, Visitors, Founders, and teachers in the Academy. The thriftiness of the authorities is evident in the rule that all books should be covered with paper, and that the shabbiest copy should be loaned first when there were duplicates of a book. It is one of the curious rules that only four students could be in the Library at one time, and that they could draw books only on Saturday afternoon from two to four o'clock. While professors enjoyed the privilege of twelve books a student was limited to three, except for class use; he might keep them for three weeks.

A very sensible regulation in harmony with the rules of hygiene that were taught in class prescribed a thorough airing of the room once a week, if the weather permitted, and sweeping and dusting once a month. Before the annual inspection the books on each shelf were to be taken down and carefully dusted and the shelf well brushed. The maker of the Library rules must have had a wholesome respect for the ritual of housecleaning. Two other rules couched in classical diction were that "a print of some emblematical engraving shall be pasted in the beginning of every volume belonging to the Library," and a bookplate was adopted as early as 1825. In volumes presented to the Library the name of the donor was to be inserted: "Whereas certain books may be of such value and nature that they ought not to be taken from the Library, but always kept for occasional consultation, such as Biblia Polyglotta, etc., the particular books of this description shall be determined and marked by the librarian, with the consent of the committee of the Library."

The Seminary was the recipient from time to time of gifts of money, books, or pamphlets for the Library. A valuable collection of books belonging to the Phillips family was presented to commemorate Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, who died in 1827. William Phillips of Boston gave $5,000, and William Reed of Marblehead gave the same amount. James Dunlop of Scotland made a present to the Library of sixty volumes on the ecclesiastical history of his country. Reverend John Codman of the Second Church in Dorchester marked

certain books in his library with the letter A in red ink, and bequeathed them to the Library. The bequest amounted to twelve hundred and fifty books.

Dr. Codman was a gentleman of the old school. In "Old Andover Days," Professor Stuart's daughter describes a triumphal progress to Commencement: "Up the Boston turnpike at about the same hour came John Codman, D.D., with his stout English horses, his stout English coach, his stout English coachman, his ruddy, cordial English self, and his noble little wife. He was one of the cloth, this nature's nobleman; yet the white cravat and the clerical air did not sit quite naturally on his round, portly form. An old English manor-house . . . would seemingly have formed his natural environment; but here he was a meek, working, country minister, rich in every good word, work, and deed, richer far in these than in the gold that turned the glebe lands into richest pastures, and the simple parsonage into a tasteful, old-world home. If he had been absent, the Anniversary would have lost one of its brightest ornaments, and Andover one of its warmest friends."

Among other gifts was a present of 8,376 pamphlets from Dr. William B. Sprague of Albany, author of "Annals of the American Pulpit." Eventually the collections of the Porter Rhetorical Society and the Society of Inquiry were turned over to the Seminary Library, but not until the Porter Society had sold a part of its books at auction, an act which the Faculty promptly declared illegal and countermanded the sale. The largest purchase made at one time was the library of Dr. Christian W. Niedner, successor of Professor Neander at the University of Berlin. This comprised forty-three hundred volumes, mostly in German and Latin, including rare and curious books, many of them of great value in the history of doctrine and philosophy and for source materials in history.

An edition of the Fathers, very superior in paper and print and issued at Basle, has a remarkable history. It was a small part of a cartload of books owned by a citizen of Hartford, Connecticut. At his death the books were found piled in a garret, and were appraised at three dollars and bought

by a bookseller who did not know their value. One day a New Haven man who had some knowledge of the value of old books offered twenty dollars for the collection and it was accepted. The latest owner sold a considerable part of them, gave many of them to Yale College, kept certain of them for himself, and sold the remainder for two hundred dollars. In the last lot was the edition of the Fathers, which dated from 1523. That single set was priced at five hundred dollars, when it came into possession of Andover.

In 1834 there were about thirteen thousand volumes in the Andover Library, rich in "ancient and rabbinic lore." A half century later they had become forty thousand, with eighteen thousand pamphlets and a small collection of manuscripts. A supplement to the catalogue was printed in 1849, and in 1866 Reverend William Ladd Ropes, who had been appointed on full time, commenced an accession catalogue. At that time the collections were removed to Brechin Hall, which had been built expressly for their housing. The three donors of Scotch ancestry, besides erecting the building, provided also for maintenance, with a fund of twenty-five thousand dollars. From that time the Library was open every weekday in term time. Brechin Hall provided space for the Museum, which contained three collections. One was the Taylor Palestine Collection, which owed its origin in the main to Dr. Selah Merrill, from whom it was purchased. A particularly interesting curio was a model of Jerusalem, which had been obtained by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. A second collection was the Fiske Missionary Collection. For this the Seminary was indebted to the thoughtful interest of missionaries and alumni who sent to America those objects which would illustrate the customs and religions of the Indian peoples in Asia, the Chinese and Japanese, the races of the Near East, and the natives of America. The third collection was the Newton Cabinet, named for Dr. E. H. Newton of the class of 1813, who presented most of the contents. Mineralogical specimens, Indian relics, shells, and coins enriched it.

The list of librarians is not a long one, and for a long time their duties were not arduous. It is not easy to imagine Squire

Farrar dusting the books, but he could have the oversight, as he did for the first twenty-two years, of a library that was closed most of the time, and could delegate his authority to a student. Edward Robinson was in charge for three years on his return from overseas. He had come to Andover in 1821 to publish his edition of the "Iliad," had remained as an instructor in sacred literature for three years, and then had gone abroad. He resumed his teaching during the three years, and was eminently qualified to guide in the use of books, though he had not in those days the technical training of a library school. Rensselaer David Chancerford Robbins became librarian in 1844 at the end of three years at Andover as a resident licentiate. He published a revised edition of Stuart's Commentaries. Edward Robie, well-known for his long pastorate at Greenland, New Hampshire, was his successor for three years, and then the mantle fell on Samuel H. Taylor, of the class of 1837. He was principal of the Academy for many years, and as the pupils of the Academy had the privilege of using the Seminary Library his oversight was easily explained. He was the editor of classical textbooks, and one of the men responsible for the *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

It is with William Ladd Ropes that the modern history of the Library really begins. He went to Andover from the pastorate, but he was a graduate of both Harvard College and Andover Seminary, and he knew books. It was he who had the satisfaction of seeing the Library housed in Brechin Hall, and proceeded at once to modernize the catalogue with author and title indexes and an accession book. He made reports to the Trustees, purchased and catalogued new books, and assisted the students in their search for bibliographical material. He put in nearly forty years of faithful service before he was retired in 1905. He was followed by Reverend Owen H. Gates, who had been teaching in the Old Testament department for three years. It was under his direction that the removal of the Library was made to Cambridge, and the thousands of books installed in the ample quarters of Andover Hall. There he has administered the joint libraries of Andover and the Harvard Divinity School. And through the Phillips Fund, which

made possible the circulation of books among the Congregational ministers free of charge, service was rendered outside the walls of the institution.

The arrangement that was made with Harvard for the joining of the two libraries provided for full equality in the use of books. And the Library was to remain in the full possession of the Seminary with all the property belonging to it, its books were to bear the Andover bookplate and be catalogued distinctively, but in the same card catalogue. When the new Andover Hall was completed the two libraries would be merged. Shelf room was planned for two hundred thousand volumes in a fireproof stack, and a reading room large enough for fifty readers. The two institutions shared in expenses. For administrative purposes a library council was to be organized, with two professors from each faculty appointed by each school to serve as an administrative committee. The agreement was open to revision by mutual consent or could be terminated on two years' notice by either institution. Since the affiliation with Newton the Andover Library remains in Andover Hall in Cambridge, where the collections are available for consultation by Andover Newton students and are of special value for purposes of research.

It is a far cry from the cramped quarters of Phillips Hall a hundred years ago to the luxurious surroundings of a modern building equipped with all the devices of library efficiency. Dust still gathers on old tomes that are seldom opened, for Hebrew and Syriac are not so popular as in Stuart's day. Strange new titles in social ethics and economics, in rural and city church methods, and in missionary literature, are called for more frequently. Periodical literature in abundance catches the eye of the student in the reading-room. An extensive card catalogue occupying a room by itself invites the curious investigator. Seminar rooms are set apart for special consultation, other special rooms for particularly valuable collections, and a safety vault for the preservation of the archives. The librarian is no longer fearful of the wear and tear of books, the student is invited to read or browse. If he is in doubt, assistance will be given him; if he is engaged in

research, he may have all the facilities that the Library affords.

Among the riches of the Library are the books written by the professors. Of old, printing was relatively inexpensive as compared with the present time, and the members of the Faculty were glad to avail themselves of the local press to put their lecture outlines into the hands of the students, and to write more pretentiously for the general public. The Works of Dr. Woods were collected into five volumes, the first three containing his theological lectures, the fourth letters and essays, and the fifth sermons. Besides these he wrote a voluminous account of the founding of the Seminary. Professor Stuart's writing was naturally in the field of biblical literature. He published a Hebrew Grammar and another for the New Testament Greek, and he wrote commentaries and translated works that he considered of special value. Professor Porter issued books relating to his own department, including lectures on homiletics and elocution, and a rhetorical reader. His "Analysis of the Principles of Rhetorical Delivery" passed through several editions.

No books from Andover pens were better known by church people than Robinson's "Physical Geography of the Holy Land," and his "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa." His harmonies of the gospels in Greek and English, his "Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament," and his translation of Gesenius, were consulted frequently as they lay on ministers' desks, because they were useful for sermon making as well as for reference in studies and classrooms of the Seminary. Murdock's translation of Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History" was another useful piece of work, and he edited Milman's "History of Christianity."

The preparation of student helps was one of the frequent undertakings of the Andover professors. B. B. Edwards issued an "Eclectic Reader" and a "Missionary Gazetteer," and he wrote "Classical Essays" and a "Biography of Self-Taught Men." Justin Edwards edited a family Bible and wrote several temperance essays. Contributions were made to biblical lore by Professors Skinner, Barrows, and Stowe. The "Companion to the Bible," written by Barrows, went

through two editions, and he wrote "Sacred Geography and Antiquities." Skinner was the author of "Religion of the Bible," and Stowe published an "Introduction to the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible," and "Origin and History of the Books of the Bible." If the story of Mrs. Stowe rocking the cradle while she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is true, one wonders how the children fared while she was reporting "The Minister's Wooing," and the minister was in his study wooing the critical muse. Again one may speculate as to what she might have accomplished if she had had a garden studio as Elizabeth Stuart Phelps had in Andover and later on Oak Hill in Newton.

Austin Phelps was a master in the department of homiletics, and his "Theory of Preaching" was a familiar handbook in the studies of the Congregational ministers. The structure and the rhetoric of pulpit discourses were moulded by his hand for a generation as effectively as if the preachers were under his instruction in the classroom. His "Still Hour" became a classic; his hymn book, prepared in consultation with others and published in 1858, was adopted widely for church worship; one hundred and twenty thousand were sold in eight years. Edwards A. Park published less than one would suppose, considering the widespread acceptance of his theological leadership. A memoir of Nathaniel Emmons came from his pen, and essays and translations. He wrote numerous articles for cyclopedias and reviews, but his chief contributions were to the *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

Professor Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine" became a standard work in that field. Since theology played so large a part in the Seminary discipline and ministers continued to preach sermons on doctrine, the history of Christian opinion on the great articles of the Christian faith was in frequent use. No library in a seminary was complete without a set of Shedd's "History," and few ministers' libraries lacked it, if the parson was at all studious. Shedd was also the author of a three-volume work on dogmatic theology. The word "dogmatic" is symptomatic of the attitude towards doctrine. The professor was of course an exponent of Congregational or-

thodoxy, but he ventured to edit Coleridge's Works, which reflected the German theological thinking of the day. Not content with these contributions he wrote a commentary on Romans, published a volume of sermons, and wrote a textbook on homiletics and pastoral theology, which was reissued in several editions.

Professor J. H. Thayer's scholarly works of reference in the biblical field gave him a far-reaching reputation. The later professors wrote fewer books, but they revealed their theology in the *Andover Review* and in the little volume entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy." William Jewett Tucker's Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale were among the specially acceptable discussions on that foundation, and his reminiscences of his generation brought back to his readers the Andover of his student and faculty days. George Harris described "A Century's Changes in Religion" after he had left Andover, but his book too was a reminder of the changes that he helped to make in the Seminary. George Foot Moore's widening circle of readers came after his transfer to Harvard, and his volumes on the history of religion gave him a reputation second to none in that field of investigation. Harris and Tucker fathered "Hymns of the Faith," published in 1887.

Three theological reviews are associated with the history of Andover. The earliest of them was the *Biblical Repository,* originated by Edward Robinson in 1831. The second, with which the first was merged after a separate career of twenty years, was the *Bibliotheca Sacra.* This better known periodical was preceded by a volume of essays, edited by Robinson and written mostly by Stuart and himself, which was given the title of "Bibliotheca Sacra," and which bore the date of 1843. This was followed the next year by the first number of the magazine to which the same name was given. Its full title was the *Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review.* Professors B. B. Edwards and Park edited the journal, with Robinson and Stuart coöperating. Robinson by that time had gone to Union Seminary. The *Review* was published at Andover for forty years, with Park taking the burden of editorial responsibility. With the prestige of his name *Bibliotheca*

Sacra held a commanding position in the field of scholarly journalism. It stood for conservative thought, but it contained articles that kept it abreast of the times in which it was published. With the retirement of Park from the active duties of his chair of theology and the onset of the controversy over more liberal tenets, the magazine was carried to Oberlin, where, chiefly under the guidance of George Frederick Wright, it continued to defend the ancient landmarks.

When the *Bibliotheca Sacra* went to Oberlin in 1884, the Andover Faculty decided to put another review in the field as the organ of the newer thought which was under discussion at Andover. The first number bore the legend: "The *Andover Review:* a religious and theological monthly." This was a recognition of a difference between religion and theology. Five members of the Faculty, Smyth, Tucker, Churchill, Harris, and Hincks, assumed the editorial responsibility, with the others assisting. While the Faculty members were not unanimous in their attitude towards the questions that were at issue, they were harmonious among themselves and were tolerant of minor differences. The reason given for issuing the new review was the disturbed state of theological opinion on certain vital questions. It stated frankly that it would "advocate the principles and represent the method and spirit of Progressive Orthodoxy." From the beginning it was able to attract to its columns some of the most prominent religious writers on both sides of the Atlantic. Principal Fairbairn, Lyman Abbott, George A. Gordon, George H. Palmer, William H. Ward, and G. Stanley Hall, were among them. Professor Egbert C. Smyth wrote the first article, and frankly declared that the *Review* aimed at theological development. The editors did not hesitate to accept the name "New Theology" for the more liberal thought that was gaining ground in the Congregational churches in harmony with a freer and more scientific age. That the *Review* would stir up rather than alleviate controversial discussion did not disturb its sponsors. The *Andover Review* performed its function as the exponent of the liberal movement of the decade, and as soon as the stress of the conflict was over it was discontinued.

The Andover Press was a decided asset to the Theological Seminary, though it had little organic connection with it. It was a small local enterprise which had been established in 1798, when Dr. Pearson enlarged it, and after Professor Stuart's press work in various languages began to issue from the Press it became the regular and well-known medium of publication for the writings of the Faculty. It was intended to be an educational and religious force as well as a legitimate line of business, and it served the needs of both Academy and Seminary and grew prosperous along with their growth. As a book shop it supplied the boys of the Academy with the books that they needed for their studies, and the men of the Seminary browsed among its shelves. Flagg and Gould, the proprietors, were members of the South Church, and were sympathetic with Christian education, and they felt that they were doing a Christian service in printing and circulating the books that flowed from the pens of the professors. One of the earliest publications was Professor Stuart's "Hebrew Grammar," for which the professor himself set some of the type. The facilities for printing in both Greek and Hebrew were greatest at Andover, and by the gifts of William Bartlet, Dr. John Codman of Dorchester, and others the Press was equipped by 1829 with fonts for twelve Oriental languages. This wealth of equipment gave the Andover Press a distinction which it did not lose for many years. In those days country publishing houses were by no means so rare as now, and though Andover was near Boston it did not suffer from city competition in the publishing business.

It was especially convenient for the Andover professors to stroll downtown to the Old Hill Store where the printers worked on the second floor. It was an inspiration to see their thoughts put on the printed page when they had no typewriter to manipulate, and they were at hand to correct proof that reflected the uncertainties of poor handwriting. In the course of the years the Faculty of the Seminary wrote over one hundred volumes which, it is estimated, had a sale of four hundred thousand copies. There was a market for them wherever religious books were read, and the reputation of the

school made them popular as textbooks. Such a book as Phelps' "Still Hour" was read very widely. Booksellers in all the cities furnished a medium for public distribution.

In 1832 the Press found new quarters in a two story and a half brick building on the Hill, where Warren F. Draper, the proprietor after 1854, put out his sign over the door reading "Warren F. Draper, Publisher and Bookseller," with a long signboard over the windows upstairs which read "Printing House." There the business remained for more than thirty years, when it was moved to the Draper Block on Main Street. The Seminary was fortunate to have such a man as Draper to carry on the business, for like Flagg and Gould he was interested in the business of publishing religious books, and he was generous with the money which the business brought him. There the American Tract Society issued its first tracts, and there was issued the *Journal of Humanity,* the first temperance newspaper in the United States. The *Biblical Repository* and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* were printed by the Press as long as they were edited by the professors of the Seminary. "Of the forces that made Andover in the last century a world-renowned center of religious and spiritual life," says Scott H. Paradise in his historical sketch of the publishing house, "the Andover Press was no small part. Working in close coöperation with the theological professors, whom they resembled in their religious enthusiasm, the Andover printers did their share to spread Christianity to the far corners of the earth, and to inspire those who were working at home and in the mission field with fresh vigor."

Among the most interesting and popular books on the catalogue of the Press were the writings of several talented members of the families of the professors. Mrs. Stowe and the wife and the daughter of Professor Phelps, and three daughters of the Stuart and Woods families, found their publishers near at home. Hundreds of thousands of copies of their books circulated abroad as well as in America. The public knows of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, but it is not commonly known that Mrs. Phelps was the author of "Sunnyside," a juvenile book, which had a sale of one hun-

dred thousand copies at home and was translated abroad. "Old Andover Days" by Elizabeth Stuart Robbins is unassuming but charming in its descriptions and reminiscences.

The literary atmosphere at Andover inspired even the students to cultivate the muses. It was in Bartlet Hall that Elijah Kellogg wrote his well-known "Spartacus to the Gladiators," and Samuel Francis Smith wrote "America" while an Andover student. "Long after the name of Bartlet Hall," says a newspaper writer, "and even the more famous name of Andover Seminary are forgotten, these two masterpieces of oratorical writing will preserve in the Valhalla of literature a sacred place for the shades of Samuel F. Smith and Elijah Kellogg."

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW THEOLOGY

IF a student who graduated from Andover in 1850 had returned for a class reunion on the thirtieth anniversary, he would have found the same system of theology taught at Andover by Professor Park. Science and criticism were attacking the foundations of authority. Rapidly changing social conditions were demanding a translation of religion into social terms. Theology itself was being reinterpreted with a human rather than a divine emphasis. None of them mattered at Andover. The New England theology was constructed on the principle that there are certain truths which abide in the very nature of things and condition any system of doctrine. Since these truths do not change, an orthodox system of doctrine must not change. The fathers of New England lived under the stern conviction that life is a battlefield between divine right and justice on the one hand and human weakness and sin on the other. The transcendent purity and dignity of God is offended daily by the sin of man. Benevolent though he is, he cannot overlook human fault. Powerful as he is he cannot forgive without satisfaction to his moral nature and his justice. The death of Christ was the most stupendous fact in history because it made possible the forgiveness of sin and the reconciliation of God to man. Original sin, atonement, reconciliation—this was the way from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to fellowship with God. Built thus on the twin facts of sin and salvation, the New England theology was the summation of the answer to the problem of human destiny, an answer which was in the making from Augustine to Calvin and from Calvin to Park.

The man who embodied this system of theology at Andover was Edwards A. Park. A graduate of Brown University and

of Andover Theological Seminary, with experience as a teacher and as an associate pastor with Richard S. Storrs, Park came to Andover to teach sacred rhetoric in 1836. When Woods completed his long term at the Seminary as professor of theology, it was appropriate that his understudy should succeed him.

Park was the "last of the old guard" of the New England theology. He was essentially an apologist, an advocate for a great cause. Biblical criticism, German rational philosophy, and the hypotheses of science passed him by. He challenged them, but they were not his chief concern. He would maintain undimmed the glory of the ancient faith, unbroken the solid wall of his well-wrought system. The halo that had gathered around the tenets of Hopkinsianism must not be dissipated. To bring truth into the white light of unrestrained reason and speculation was to tear away the veil of mystery that shrouded it. Or, to change the figure, he felt that the foundations of God stand sure, but it is not well to play with dynamite. Such figures of speech were not articulate with him, but they accord with his principles. While others were modifying their opinions Park held the fort at Andover, and taught his generation of students to wage war valiantly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

His classroom did not provide a genial atmosphere for the growth of revolutionary ideas. It was a place for the reception of truth, not a laboratory for experimentation. As patiently as a sculptor Park had perfected the system that he endorsed. His classroom method was to dictate the substance of his well-ordered lectures, and then to illustrate and expand extemporaneously. He was exact in definition, clear in analysis, logical in argument. He stressed the importance of coherence in a doctrinal system. "Beginning with strictly self-evident truths," says Joseph Cook, an appreciative and loyal pupil of Park, "the architecture of his system rises through anthropology, theism, soteriology and eschatology, along such a strenuous curve that it is not possible to appreciate it except from some point of view where the student sees it as a whole and endeavors to transmute it into life."

It was not a system of philosophy, but it was philosophical. It was not a system of ethics, but it was ethical. It was theology, not religion, yet it was centered in the gospel of the Son of God. God Himself was revealed through Jesus Christ.

It was this system that he set forth, now with cogent argument, again with the glowing language of a conviction that gripped his own soul. With masterly logic he bore down hostile arguments, and there were not a few of these as the forces that were moulding modern thought began to affect the minds of the students. Park had insight into the student mind, and he was able to impress upon that mind the profound importance of the subject in hand and to arouse the deep interest of his pupils. He opened up the vast area to be explored; pointed out the places where the rich ore of truth was to be found and the more barren fields of thought; and made the men feel that they could not be engaged in any enterprise so vital to them as the search for truth and wisdom. He made them see that they must think hard, as his own mind unfolded before them. He brought both eloquence and wit to his assistance. At times his mind scintillated like a brilliant display of fireworks.

Impressed by his analysis, the clarity of his thought, and the wealth of proof and illustration, Andover students accepted his teaching and made it the substance of their thought and preaching. Men came for the middle year in theology, convinced that there was no teacher of the subject greater than he was. It has been charged that, though he was a masterly teacher, he did not edify, and "no set of men need edifying more than theological students." But such a charge means merely that a logical presentation of a doctrinal system is not religion. It is the coat of armor that religion wears for defence but the heart that beats within is religion.

Professor Park had taught the art of preaching before Phelps came, and he was himself no less outstanding as a preacher than as a teacher of theology. He crowded the meetinghouses where he went to preach, as Phillips Brooks commanded great audiences in his day. The same personality that dominated his classroom was evident in the pulpit. He

towered above his congregation like a prophet. He spoke as one who had authority, and men listened, "so still that the buzzing of a fly would have boomed like a cannon." "When it was all over, and that wonderful man sat down," said one who heard him, "the people stared at each other, and looked as wan and wild as if they had seen a spirit, and wondered they had not died."

Dr. George A. Gordon bore witness that he was a preacher unequaled in his order, one whose great sermons became traditions of power in all the denominations, and among people of all types of belief. Gordon called his sermon, on the Theology of Intellect and the Theology of Feeling, preached in 1850 at the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational ministers, which included the Unitarians, the greatest sermon ever preached in Boston. And he said that if Park "had allowed his thought in that great discourse to control and shape his entire teaching, instead of being the last of the old order of theologians, he would have become the first of the new." And it is Gordon again who said truly: "If he had utilized his insight that the content of genuine Christian feeling is an eternal content, while the theories of the intellect chase each other, in their discovered inadequacy as philosophy, like shadows over the summer grass; if he had turned the intellect upon the deposit of Christian faith laid up in the Christian heart, stored in the Christian consciousness, treasured in the soul of Christ; if he had allowed the enlightened conscience to cleanse the Augean stable of the mediæval understanding, Edwards A. Park would have stood for the dawn of a new day in American theology."

It is difficult for a man to be at the same time a priest and a prophet. Park mediated the divine to his pupils as a priest mediates between God and man through his consecration of the sacraments. He was an interpreter of the past, not a prophet of the future. In the changing panorama of the years there were some who felt that it would be better if he faced the sunrise of a new day in Christian thought, a herald of a new theology, than that he should look regretfully to the fading colors of a day that was dying. He realized that the

world of thought was moving away from him, but he could not accompany it. Whatever may have been his vision, he continued to represent the conservative position in theological thought, with the Hopkinsian Creed as its foundation and his particular system as the superstructure. There was danger that the New England theology might perish from too much scholasticism.

The theology which Park hammered out on the anvil was prepared for homiletical use by Austin Phelps. Coming from a Boston pastorate to Andover in 1848 to succeed Park when he was transferred to the Abbot chair of theology, Phelps remained at Andover thirty-one years, instructing students how to preach, and through his publications indoctrinating a whole generation of preachers in their art. His "Theory of Preaching" became a classic in homiletics. His "English Style in Public Discourse" was an education in itself in the use of the mother tongue. Possessed of a purity of style and with a freshness of thought that intrigued the student mind, he was able by example as well as precept to show a man how to preach, and how to preach well enough so that his parishioners would not tire of him. He brought in the vogue of the carefully prepared written sermon, wrought out according to the rules of rhetoric and with an elegance of diction that gave it distinction and bearing the marks of the minister's own experience. His own character was refined in the furnace of domestic affliction, and his preaching was mellowed by his experiences. His own physical infirmities of increasing age and threatening blindness saddened still more his later years, and he died at his summer home in Bar Harbor in 1890. Fortunate was it for his peace of mind that he retired from active service before the storm of theological controversy broke over the Seminary.

In 1879 when Phelps retired Park had been teaching forty-three years at Andover. He had reason to feel himself a bulwark of the faith for which Andover had stood. A junior in the Seminary when he was thirty years old, a professor in the school in two departments for forty-five years, acquainted with a large majority of its Trustees and Visitors from the

earliest years and all but two of its professors for the seventy years of Andover history, and related personally to fifty of its classes, he was entitled to be regarded as a spokesman for Andover. Recognizing his high position and his personal ability, the Trustees expressed a wish that he would publish his system of theology. They would relieve him of active teaching, give him twenty-five hundred dollars a year and his residence as long as he lived, if he felt that he could not teach and write, too. It was with this arrangement that he closed his long term of teaching in 1881.

The Trustees realized that it would be no easy task to fill his place. With the master gone differences of theological opinion would strive for the mastery, but the Trustees knew that recognition must be given to the modern trends. There was difference of opinion in Congregational circles as to the content of true orthodoxy. On the one side of the question was the ironclad Creed of the Seminary and the New England theology of Andover tradition, which had been absorbed by the students for seventy-five years. And the last of the old guard was vigorous, though in retirement, and he never surrendered. On the other hand it was becoming plain that the theological thought of the past was being affected by science and philosophy. Hostility to the Unitarian movement had delayed any other liberal trend inside orthodox circles, but Horace Bushnell's novel ideas on certain doctrines were fermenting in the body ecclesiastical. There were lively discussions of Bushnell's thesis that a child is not an imp of Satan and his nature twisted by an imputation of Adam's sin, but that he should grow up to think of himself as a child of God. And Bushnell had a fresh interpretation of the atonement. Almost contemporary with Bushnell's modernism was Darwin's "Origin of Species." It had no such immediate effect as Bushnell's doctrinal discussions, but the tough sod of Calvinism already had been undermined by philosophical and critical scholars in Germany and by scientists in Great Britain, and seeds of revolutionary ideas planted in the disturbed soil could find lodgment and grow. By 1880 they were sprouting vigorously.

Differences of opinion could easily develop into controversy over the choice of a new professor. It seemed as if Andover had been dogged by the spirit of controversy from the beginning. The circumstances of the founding of the Seminary stirred up controversy. It could hardly be expected that the Unitarians would be friendly, for it was well understood that the existence of Andover was due to the hostility of the orthodox Congregationalists to the liberal movement. The *Anthologist* referred scornfully to the bigotry of the school, and after a few years Harvard and Andover professors began to pummel each other with wordy blows. Channing's Baltimore sermon of 1819 stirred the Seminary. Stuart contested forcefully the Unitarian denial of the Trinity and interpretation of the person of Christ, arguing for his deity on biblical grounds. He wrote in the form of "Letters," which were published at Andover in the year of the Baltimore discourse. Unable to continue with a discussion of other doctrines, Stuart urged Woods to dispute Channing's other positions. Woods had a more irenic disposition and was less inclined to engage in controversy, but he felt that the attack upon the orthodox position should be answered; he therefore entered the lists with his own "Letters to Unitarians," treating such subjects as the nature of man and the sovereignty of God. Professor Ware of Harvard replied promptly with "Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists." Then came the "Answer," "Remarks," and "Postscript." It was a period of polemics and of minute differences of theological opinion vigorously debated. As professor of theology in a prominent seminary Woods could not escape contentions, however peacefully inclined.

A second controversy into which he was drawn was with the Yale professor of theology, Nathaniel W. Taylor. Taylor represented a position farther removed from Edwards than was the case with the Hopkinsians. It was by no means liberal from the Unitarian standpoint, but it was not conservative enough for the Hopkinsians. Woods therefore entered the lists in defence of the older point of view. The principal point of attack was Taylor's doctrine that in a moral system

like that under which man lived with a reasonable freedom of choice on man's part God could not prevent all sin. In his "Letters to Taylor" Woods condemned the principles of the system taught at Yale and drew unjustifiable inferences which Taylor promptly denied. The extended controversy between the Hopkinsians and the Taylorites, in which Woods had only a small part, brought little good, and it resulted in the withdrawal of the Hopkinsians from any relation with Yale Divinity School, and the establishment of another Congregational seminary, which presently found its permanent home at Hartford. Woods had still another tilt over the doctrine of perfectionism held by Asa Mahan, a former pupil at Andover and in the period of controversy president of Oberlin.

The New Haven theology affected the Seminary, for Woods and Stuart were not agreed about it. "Professor Stuart," says the narrator, "would flash out one set of views on the lower story; Dr. Woods would reply with rumbling thunders in his lecture room in the second story; and good Professor Emerson would draw off both lightning and thunder in the third story, and tell the seniors that there was no real cause for alarm—the brethren evidently did not quite understand each other."

Dr. Stuart after retiring from the field of Unitarian controversy ventured into the arena of discussion with the Universalists, writing as a biblical exegete in 1830. Woods no sooner demolished the ramparts of the Perfectionists than he criticised the Episcopalians, and he retired from his professorship with a parting shot at the Swedenborgians. This atmosphere of criticism and hostility did not augur peace for Woods' successor.

The strong emphasis upon the Creed made it inevitable that the question of subscription to it should arise, and of further subscription to the Westminster Catechism. Within five years of the organization of the Seminary it became necessary to apply to the Legislature for power to hold additional funds. In granting this request the Legislature added the proviso that no student should be deprived of any privileges in the Seminary or subjected to forfeiture of any scholarship aid

WILLIAM HENRY RYDER JOHN WESLEY CHURCHILL GEORGE FOOT MOORE
EDWARD YOUNG HINCKS WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER CHARLES CUTLER TORREY GEORGE HARRIS
WILLIAM LADD ROPES EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR

"on the ground that his interpretations of the Scriptures differ from those which are contained in the articles of faith adopted by said institution." To compel students to agree with the Creed was considered an invasion of religious liberty and the right of free inquiry.

There was no question about the Faculty. In 1826 the Trustees had voted that both the Creed and Catechism must be accepted by all the professors, but sixteen years later that vote was rescinded so far as concerned the professors on the Associate Foundation, so that these professors should only be required to subscribe and repeat the Creed. The Visitors gave their approval, but the slighting of the Westminster Catechism and the denial of the Old Calvinist doctrine of the imputation of sin in the theology of Woods aroused the antagonism of Dr. Daniel Dana, who originally had stood out alone in the Board of Trustees against the compromise with the Hopkinsians. Militant for the Old Calvinists, Dana stirred up the "Andover Fuss" in 1849 by addressing a remonstrance to the Board on the state of the Seminary under its care. Though he had been a Trustee for forty years, earlier remonstrances had not been heeded. Candidates for ordination were not measuring up to the standards in the matter of total depravity. Worst of all, the new professor of theology, Edwards A. Park, was not sound in the faith. His inaugural left much to be desired, and now it was clear that there was error in Zion. The professors were deviating from the Catechism. The release from subscription to that document was "a wound in the vitals of the Constitution." "Would it not be lamentable if a seminary, reared at an immense expense, for the express purpose of defending and diffusing pure gospel truth, should become the instrument of corrupting that truth, and of spreading destructive error through the churches and the community?" Four years later Dana returned to the charge against Park. In a convention sermon and in argument with Professor Hodge of Princeton, Park had defended his own Hopkinsian position on sin and human ability, and had even attacked important articles of the Catechism. The Andover professor main-

tained that all sin consists in action. "That position," said Dana, "would sweep away almost every doctrine of the Bible," and "nullifies the cardinal and fundamental doctrine of natural depravity." An anonymous writer, discussing the case, concluded that Dr. Dana was losing his memory.

It might be anticipated that the situation in 1881 would precipitate more trouble. The defenders of the old theology were aggressive because they felt that important truths would be lost to the Congregational churches of New England with the passing of the old traditions. The Faculty suggested to the Trustees the name of Newman Smyth for the vacant chair of theology, and the Trustees voted in his favor twice. The Visitors approved his election from the point of view of fidelity to the Creed, but by a vote of two to one they refused to give the necessary sanction to his election on the ground that Smyth lacked the mental characteristics that were needed for clear, lucid teaching. It was an unhappy choice of ground for the opposition, for Smyth possessed conspicuously the quality of clear explication of his opinions. The real reason for the opposition of two of the Visitors seemed to be that they did not agree with the theological opinions that he had recently expressed in print. Newman Smyth had criticised the New England theology as essentially rationalistic and mechanical, and preferred a philosophy which should find room for "the relation of the whole man through the person of Christ to the whole God." Theology should be christocentric, and its spirit less static. Experience rather than reason, a theology resting on biblical criticism rather than on anybody's logical interpretation, an ethical rather than a dogmatic emphasis—these were the dynamic principles of his art. Others had been saying the same thing. A writer in the *Boston Advertiser* wrote in commendation of the ideas that Smyth had expressed: "He has taken up the new line of march in theological constructions with a strength of thought, with a moral confidence in his convictions, with a breadth and range of vision, and with an insight into existing needs, that places him at one bound in the front rank of the men who are to lead the next generation of religious teachers. His

essay is the new Protestant landmark in religious thought."

It was impossible to change the minds of the two men who had alone the power to prevent Smyth's election. Apparently the machinery of the Board of Visitors was a stumbling-block to any progressive development of the Seminary, particularly since it was their function to maintain the test of the Creed. The Trustees thought they saw a way around the obstacle by appointing Smyth a lecturer. That would not require creedal avowals, but he declined such a subterfuge. Then money was raised to establish a new and independent chair of instruction, but before the way was opened Smyth was called to a commanding position as minister in New Haven, and the case was closed.

It seemed to the progressive friends of the Seminary that a great opportunity had been missed to make Andover a leader in the way that theology should go. The conservatives breathed more easily when the line of defence held. The *Congregationalist* assumed the championship of the old theology, and particularly deprecated the attitude of Newman Smyth on the subject of retribution after death. He had suggested that those who in this world have no opportunity to know the appeal of Christ might have an opportunity in the life of the future. This doctrine of second probation, as it was called, became the center of discussion in the period of controversy which followed. The discussion of second probation did not come unheralded. The thought of it was suggested by the idea of a general atonement which had been maintained by the Younger Edwards. The Calvinistic dogma of eternal punishment was being relaxed. At several installation councils, including that of Smyth at New Haven, the question of a larger hope was raised, and the weight of opinion was getting more liberal. Such a discussion easily affected the missionary organization of the denomination, and the cry was raised that the acceptance of such a theory would cut the nerve of missions. The Andover Creed did not deal directly with the question, but it was plain enough that any relaxation of the idea of future punishment was contrary to the spirit of the Creed.

The attitude of the Faculty was vital to the success of either party to the controversy. At the time there was an almost entirely new Faculty at Andover. Egbert C. Smyth, the brother of Newman Smyth, was its senior member, for he had come to the Seminary in 1863 as the successor of Professor Shedd in the department of history. He was president of the Faculty from 1877 to 1896. He was equipped with foreign university study, and his scholarship was broad and accurate. His historical information was supplemented by his knowledge of philosophy and he was a master in theology. In his study and teaching of history his chief interest was the interpretation of the Christian thought of the centuries. Professor Harris, his colleague for sixteen years, spoke of him as a teacher who quietly opened the way of a more spiritual and ethical theology, and as a lover of nature and art and literature, as far as he discovered in them an avenue to the spiritual. Harris called him "a man beloved, a sympathetic friend, a mediator, a hopeful optimist, who taught men to express themselves, knowing it is better to speak five words that can be understood than ten thousand words in an unknown, indistinct tongue."

John Wesley Churchill came five years later than Smyth, to serve the Seminary as teacher of elocution for thirty-two years. Sympathetic with a liberal attitude in theology, he had no hesitation in joining his colleagues in their plans for broadening the Seminary. Though much of his thought was conservative, he became one of the leaders of the forward movement at Andover. Ten years after Churchill came John P. Gulliver to be the first professor on the recently established foundation of the relations of Christianity and Science. He was a man of experience when he came to Andover, including twenty-nine years of pastoral service and four as president of Knox College. He was a prophet of reform, and fought many a battle against evil.

The next year brought William Jewett Tucker to the Bartlet chair of sacred rhetoric. After eight successful years in Manchester, New Hampshire, he had been pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City

for four years. He brought with him a deep human sympathy which made him popular with students and Faculty alike. He was among the first to see the social implications of the Christian religion, and his pastoral experience had made him understand and sympathize with the aspirations of the working folk. He faced the new period that was dawning with a realization that theological concepts and formulas must be changed. He was an interpreter of a dynamic Christian thought, as Park was of a static theology. But it was his moral leadership which made him a power in pulpit and classroom. He was much in demand in Congregational pulpits. In his department of homiletics he taught what he exemplified, that it is the consecrated personality of the preacher which makes his sermons effective. He joined heartily in the modernizing process through which the Seminary was passing, and his courage and strength, with his ability to make the Congregational constituency see the reasonableness of the Faculty, were a bulwark to his colleagues in a time of stress. In later years at Dartmouth he was to become known more widely as a great college president, a lecturer on various foundations in Boston, Cambridge, New Haven, and New York City, and a frequent contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The year 1883 added five new professors. One of these was Dr. John Phelps Taylor, a minister in New London, son of a former professor, Dr. John Lord Taylor. The senior Taylor had been president of the Faculty, and had taught biblical theology on the Smith foundation to men of the special course. He saw the importance of a chair devoted to that special subject, and made provision for it. Reverend Edward Young Hincks came from Portland, Maine, to teach the biblical doctrines while Taylor took care of the history and customs.

A flurry of excitement was caused by the resignation of Professors Mead and Thayer because they objected to repeating the Creed every five years. This repetition of the Creed, it may be noted, ceased in 1900, by virtue of a ruling of the Visitors that the provision on this subject in the Statutes was "directory and not essential." Mead had come four years

after his graduation from the Seminary to teach the Hebrew language and literature. Soon afterward Thayer had arrived fresh from Germany and enthusiastic for new thought and science. His attitude, which was very different from the dogmatism of Park, lecturing across the hall, is expressed in his statement to his class: "Gentlemen, it is not for me to defend the Faith. A true faith will defend itself. It is my duty to guide you with open mind, humble spirit, and a pure heart to the Truth, the Truth alone, wherever it may lead you, and be ye sure that it will always lead you to a fuller knowledge of Christ, who is the Truth. Hold as for your life to that attitude of mind. Seek the Truth and the Truth will make you free." Both Mead and Thayer were too jealous of their personal liberty to remain under suspicion because they disliked to sign the Creed so often, and their resignation came soon after nearly twenty years of distinguished service on their part. They differed from the professors who remained in that they demanded that the boards of control should guarantee their freedom, while the others were content with their right to defend their freedom. The Trustees elected George Foot Moore to follow Mead. He came from a Presbyterian pastorate in Ohio, and remained for nearly twenty years at Andover. During that time he won a world-wide reputation as an Old Testament scholar. Then he went to Harvard as professor of the history of religions, where he gained renown second to none in that field. Mr. Frank E. Woodruff was called from a fellowship at Union Seminary to occupy the New Testament chair, but he retired after four years to go to Bowdoin.

George Harris was the fifth new professor of the year. The Trustees were desirous that the discussion of theological questions in the Seminary should be on a broader platform than a single issue about the future life, and if Newman Smyth could not be obtained for the Abbot chair of theology, they wished to secure a competent, fearless, progressive teacher, who would treat every question on its merits. The Faculty was in full sympathy with that purpose. The choice fell upon Dr. Harris, who at that time was minister to the Central Con-

gregational Church in Providence. Harris had graduated from Andover in the class of 1869, he was known to possess the desired qualifications, and his coming was not opposed by the Visitors.

Of the Faculty as a group Harris said at the anniversary of one hundred years: "It was a company unbroken for years, knit together in personal love, united in a common interest, in the service of an institution, in the cause of truth and righteousness. In those years a victory was gained for the freedom of a Christian man."

Since the controversy over Newman Smyth was a theological issue, interest centered around the inaugurations of the two men who were to teach theology. The address of Professor Harris was very long, but it was printed in full in the *Christian Union,* with editorial comment on the theological disturbances. Dr. Park, now in retirement, but mentally active and deeply concerned with the new theology, carefully prepared a brochure of ninety-six pages, and it was published by a committee of six sympathizers. The pamphlet was controversial, intended to spike the guns of the Faculty, and to prove their disloyalty to the old Creed. Park had wielded the instruments of offence for so long that he had absorbed the atmosphere of conflict. Some years before, while in the midst of his professional career, he had disagreed with his colleagues over matters of Faculty administration so far that he had refused to fraternize with them or bear his part in the administration. The attack upon the new Faculty could be justified only on the ground of theological militarism. Newspaper comments criticised the pamphlet as technical, adroitly attempting to prove from the Creed that the professors were guilty of holding a doctrine which the Creed did not mention. But Park was sustained by many of the denominational leaders who felt that the members of the Faculty were teaching a new and false theology, and who found in the implications of the Creed, if not in its text, belief in the present life as the only period of probation for man.

The Andover Faculty was indeed introducing a new theology, but it was not so radical as the conservatives seemed to

think. The Faculty was handicapped always by the necessity of adjusting a fixed creed to a dynamic movement. It was unfortunate that the center of interest should be a doctrine which was only a corollary of the main principles, because the main issue was much larger than the doctrine of second probation. The New England theology had stood foursquare on the doctrines of the trustworthiness of Scripture, the sinfulness of man, the governmental theory of the atonement, and the certainty of future punishment. The new theology granted recognition to the modern criticism of the Bible, and to the doctrine of an immanent God and an evolutionary principle in nature; reflected the ideas of Bushnell regarding the nature of man; and shifted the emphasis from the atonement to the incarnation. The new emphasis on the incarnation was a return to the Greek theology, which after the fifth century had been overshadowed by the emphasis on sin and the need of salvation which was characteristic of Latin theology. It seemed as if the Andover theologians were tearing away a precious garment of the Christian faith.

The Andover Faculty felt the need of an organ for the expression of their opinions, and so founded the *Andover Review,* which for nine years furnished the medium for the explanation of the new theology. Five members of the Faculty constituted the editorial board, and the Andover Review Company was formed to take care of the business end. A contract was made with Houghton Mifflin & Company to publish the *Review* monthly. There was the more room for it now that the *Bibliotheca Sacra* had taken wings to Oberlin. The prospectus of the new review stated that it would "advocate the principles and represent the spirit and method of progressive orthodoxy." The editors hoped to make it representative of the best modern thought, and particularly to "show the obligations of theology to the social and religious life of the time." They were less interested in speculation than in guiding opinion constructively to build a vital faith. The *Review* rallied the forces of the liberals, and brought them out into the open to contend for intellectual freedom and the idea of progress in theology. The thesis of the new theologians was made the title of a book

which appeared shortly as "Progressive Orthodoxy." Its chapters were an expansion of editorials which had appeared in the *Review,* and were an attempt to show the true meaning of the New Theology. They dealt with the incarnation and the atonement, with the work of the Holy Spirit, with Christian missions and eschatology, with the Scriptures and the universality of Christianity. Later a second series of editorials was published under the title of "The Divinity of Christ." The term "Progressive Orthodoxy" was peculiarly expressive of the position held by the Andover Faculty. Instead of the static system of the past they would have an intellectual faith that throbbed with life and power. They would put life into the dry bones of orthodoxy, not destroy it. They found inspiration in a Bible that was a progressive revelation of God's dealing with men, in a Spirit patiently wooing humankind to allegiance to the highest ideals, in a hope that God's purpose for the world would not be defeated by paganism, but that in His good way and time He would get His appeal to them and win their response. They were not skeptics or Unitarians, but it was difficult for those who held the old point of view to see anything but heresy in the new. The discussion was enlivened by Joseph Cook, who in his preludes before his Monday lectures to thousands in Tremont Temple, unlimbered his guns against Professor Smyth, and by Professor Park, who issued anonymously the so-called Worcester Creed for the orthodox.

It is quite correct to speak of the new theology as more humane than the old. It was based on the love of God rather than on the rigors of the law. It envisaged human relations as well as divine, and saw that Christianity must be applied to these social relations and their economic and social problems. It is significant that the social settlement movement found a sponsor in Professor Tucker, one of the editors of the *Andover Review.* It was a long way from a creed that required the professors to denounce Roman Catholics to a practice of friendly neighborliness with Irish Americans in the South End of Boston. And it was certainly a new departure to think of the heathen as subjects of divine and human

compassion both now and hereafter rather than as brands to be plucked from the burning, trophies of a selective grace.

The doctrine of second probation sponsored by the Andover Faculty as a part of their broader creed brought them directly into conflict with the American Board in Boston and with the *Congregationalist,* which represented editorially the older theological position. Personal animosities were inescapable. Unfriendliness appeared in the meetings of the Board and at the Anniversaries of the denomination. It was especially apparent when Andover graduates appeared as candidates for missionary appointments, and it acted to hinder the return to the field of so brilliant a missionary as Robert A. Hume.

The Faculty went on with the regular work of the school, though the controversy was a disturbing element. The wide interest in theological changes, the new social conditions consequent upon the growth of urban centers, and the new departments of study at Andover, attracted students to the advanced courses, which were established about 1880. More than one hundred students were enrolled in these courses during the period of controversy. The record of their work was preserved in the *Seminary Bulletin,* which was published monthly.

Eventually the controversy came to a head with charges of heresy brought against the five members of the editorial board of the *Andover Review.* This was in the summer of 1886. The Visitors had received complaints against the professors which called upon the Faculty to disprove the charges that they were disloyal to the Hopkinsian Creed and the Westminster Catechism, and that they taught doctrines that were subversive of orthodoxy. The professors replied promptly. Legal counsel was secured on both sides, and a trial of the professors under indictment was held in Boston before the Visitors. In their decision the Visitors singled out Professor Egbert C. Smyth for judgment, condemning him on three counts: first, "that the Bible is not the only rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teaching"; second, "that no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ"; third, "that there is and will be probation after death for all men

who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life."

With respect to the complaints against the remaining four professors, the Visitors announced that Reverend William T. Eustis, the secretary of the Board, had declined to act with his associates upon the ground that he was not present on the day when these professors appeared and made their statements in their defence, and that none of the charges against these professors were sustained by the other members of the Board. As afterwards developed, the president of the Board, President Julius Seelye of Amherst College, voted to dismiss the charges against all the professors, whereas Mr. Joshua Newell Marshall voted to condemn all. Since Dr. Eustis declined to vote except in the case of Professor Smyth, the charges against the other professors were not sustained, although the complainants against them were the same as that against Professor Smyth, and all were equally responsible for the utterances complained of.

Professor Smyth appealed from the decision to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, maintaining both that the action of the Visitors was unwarranted as a matter of law, and that the decision was tainted with partiality because Dr. Eustis had so prejudged the case as to disqualify him from acting judicially. The Trustees made their own investigation and found the charges ill-founded. They therefore supported Smyth by legal counsel. They were interested in the question that was involved, whether the Visitors were exceeding their powers. The case was argued before the Court in the fall of 1890, and a year later the Court rendered its decision. The Court unanimously affirmed the constitutionality and the original jurisdiction of the Board of Visitors, which had been questioned by Smyth, but a majority of the Court—Chief Justice Field dissenting—set aside the verdict of the Visitors that Smyth should be removed from his professorship, on the ground that the Trustees had not been allowed on their application to be heard in the case. This did not end the matter, for a new hearing was held by the Visitors in 1892, at which the Trustees were represented by a committee. Smyth was charged by his opponents with pantheism, Universalism, and

disreputable morality, because he kept his chair of instruction. The Board of Visitors, whose composition had meanwhile changed, disposed of the matter by a resolution to the effect that in view of the lapse of time, the inconsistency in the former decision, and other special circumstances, the Visitors could better fulfil their responsibilities by other methods, and "that without thereby expressing any opinion upon the merits of the case, the complaint against Professor Smyth should be dismissed."

The conclusion of the case brought relief to the members of the Faculty, who with a continual handicap had carried on their teaching without a break. It was especially a relief to Professor Smyth, who had borne the brunt of the attack. He had shown a patience and courage that endeared him to his friends and won the respect of his enemies. The members of the Faculty had stood by one another during the storm. Professor Harris was stalwart in his defence of the new theology and quick to appreciate its social implications. Professor Tucker was equally at home in systematic and practical theology, and on the platform as well as in the pages of the *Andover Review* he won friends for the modern point of view in religion. Professor Hincks mingled biblical criticism with a deep spirituality which was a part of his religious nature and which was reinforced by his vacation communings in his cabin high up on the northern slope of the White Mountains. Professor Churchill, the fifth member of the editorial board of the *Review,* while not an aggressive disputant, was a believer in Christian freedom, and on that ground he supported his colleagues.

The net consequence of the controversy was to strengthen the hands of liberals who were struggling for theological freedom, as men of previous generations had fought for liberty of conscience. Union Seminary in New York during the same period strove for the principle of biblical interpretation according to the canons of criticism. Together Andover and Union stood in the forefront of the battle that was to divide denominations from within and to threaten to break them wide open, the battle between the two principles of a fixed

body of doctrine once delivered to the saints and a growing understanding of the mind of God on the basis of reason and experience. Of the *Andover Review* Frederic Palmer said: "It has stimulated thought, deepened piety, enlarged the visible horizon of the kingdom of heaven, set a wonderful example of Christian courtesy in polemics, and saved the Congregational body from destruction at the hands of the intellectual deadness and narrow ecclesiasticism of its own High Church party. Its influence is now established. The new theology . . . is preached from many a pulpit and editorial chair where it is not at all recognized as Andover theology, but is unconsciously supposed to be Theology itself, the only normal and proper thing. What greater success can any scheme of thought desire than to lose its distinctive name and supersede itself?"

The Seminary itself did not emerge from the conflict unscathed. The wounds of theological wars are slow to heal. The spirit of the school had been generous in its freedom to the professors in spite of the ancient standards. In 1868 a student wrote that the Faculty would let a man have liberty to think, and there was no objection to the progress of scientific investigation. "Andover does not watch with quaking the approach of modern science; for its faith is not grounded in the letter, but in the spirit of revelation, and it holds no theory which it is not willing to be submitted to the test of enlightened reason." And the Trustees did not hamper the freedom of the classroom. But the Seminary continued to bear the scars of the acute controversy of the decade. Attendance declined, for students did not wish to be involved in the issues, and to be a graduate of Andover during those years was to incur the suspicion of heterodoxy. But the Faculty faced the future with resolution and courage.

An indication of the new outlook of the Seminary was the attention given to social questions. Professor Tucker supplied the impetus, arranging a plan for the Andover House in Boston, so that several residents could have practical experience there for a period of at least six months in connection with the work of Berkeley Temple. Because of his interest

in the subject Robert A. Woods, who had been a member of the Advanced Class in 1890 and afterward had resided for a time at Toynbee Hall in London, became head of Andover House, and lectured on social questions at the Seminary. The Porter Rhetorical Society discussed social problems at its meetings. The alumni gave a day at the Anniversaries in 1896 to the discussion of labor and other social issues, with special reference to the duty of ministers and churches, led by distinguished speakers.

It was a period when conferences were popular. Faculty and students met for a fortnightly conference under the direction of a joint committee of professors and students to discuss freely matters of practical importance connected with the institutions and problems of modern life. One of the professors presided and summed up the discussion. Among the topics discussed were the observance of Sunday, religious education in the public schools, the attitude of the ministers to temperance reform, the reorganization of Congregational churches, and methods of teaching churches and Sunday schools the results of the higher criticism. Once a month the Faculty and graduate students met for a paper by a student and the discussion of it.

A pastoral conference on Catechetics by those who were especially interested in the subject brought together representative men from everywhere in 1900. They attempted to evaluate the catechetical method of instruction in religion, and during the day discussed the church and the home, the church in the city, parochialization as a substitute for evangelization, Roman Catholic methods of child care, and the practical use of the catechism.

Back in 1877 the members of the Faculty had enjoyed a local club, which included their wives and persons of culture in the community. They called themselves "The Owls." Meetings were held fortnightly at the houses of the professors or of the principal of the Academy, when papers on learned subjects were read and discussed, and individual readings were reported. The meetings were of a confidential nature; the members were to be "at once, condignly, igno-

miniously, unanimously, and irrecoverably expelled without further accusation, arraignment, trial, or conviction, and without benefit of clergy" if they divulged remarks that were made in the inner circle. It was optional with the ladies whether or not they should participate actively in the exercises. Most of the subjects discussed were classical, theological, historical, or descriptive; now and then an original poem was read or a prominent book reviewed. The club served as mild recreation and an intellectual stimulus to the professional people of Andover, and its list of members reads like an intellectual register. But it lasted for only a short time.

The Faculty swung into line with other divinity schools by suggesting to the Trustees in 1896 the desirability of granting the degree of Bachelor of Divinity to students who had had the college training and who completed the full course at Andover. The Trustees agreed and applied for authority to the Massachusetts Legislature, which granted the privilege. The degree was conferred on several graduates of former years, including Dr. Cole of Wheaton and Professor Ropes of Harvard.

There were special occasions when Faculty and students assembled to do special honor to a man or an organization, and invited speakers from outside the Seminary. In 1897 came the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Melanchthon, the German reformer and theologian. The students sang German and Latin hymns, and listened to an address on the man and his character. Six years later a more elaborate celebration marked the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards. Dr. William R. Richards of the Brick Church in New York City preached a commemorative sermon. Alumni and other ministers and professors from Harvard and Boston University gathered with the students to listen to addresses from Professors Smyth and Platner of Andover and Professor Woodbridge of Columbia, and a poem from Dr. Samuel V. Cole of Wheaton Seminary. Dr. James Orr of the University of Glasgow came with a congratulatory message from the United Free Church College, and addressed the gathering on the Influence of Edwards.

A reception and collation in Bartlet Chapel added spice to the exercises.

Another special occasion was a memorial service for Professor Smyth, who died in 1904 and was buried in the Chapel Cemetery. Seminary exercises were omitted on the day when the town of Andover celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary; on the day when Admiral Dewey came to Boston after his victory at Manila; and again when the American Missionary Association held its jubilee meeting in Boston.

Among the improvements of the period were the installation of electric lights in Bartlet Chapel and the Library, made possible by the generosity of a friend, and the introduction of the practice of wearing academic costume at Commencement time.

The Faculty and the Trustees coöperated to enrich the mental and spiritual life of the students. Among the preachers who addressed the students were Gordon, Cuthbert Hall, Harris, Cadman, Speer, Eaton of Beloit, Harry P. Dewey, and Joseph Neesima. Special lecturers included George Adam Smith and Cheyne from Great Britain, Bowne and Cuthbert Hall from America. For periods of a year or two Alexander Mackenzie, W. H. Hocking, and W. W. Rockwell were appointed to lecture on pastoral theology, the history of religions, and the history of the Christian Church.

In the natural course of events changes occurred in the Faculty. Professor Park, so long emeritus, and Professor Churchill died. Friends of Churchill fitted up a memorial room in his honor, which was designed as a center of student life. Reverend William H. Ryder succeeded Woodruff in 1888, remaining thirty years in the New Testament chair. He had been soldier, teacher and pastor, and he brought to Andover not only experience but scholarly qualities coupled with an inspiring personality. He was modest and considerate of those who differed from him, open-minded in his attitude and frank in his speech. The Smyth trial was hardly over before Ryder was accused of heresy on the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ. The Trustees investigated and exonerated him. The Visitors were not so easily satisfied,

but at length peace was made. The Trustees took the ground that the Creed was to be interpreted liberally for substance of doctrine, and the Visitors did not make official objection. Ryder had such a strong Christian faith and was so charming a gentleman that it was difficult to hold an unfriendly opinion against him.

Reverend Theodore C. Pease, a graduate of Harvard and thirteen years a pastor, was elected to succeed Professor Tucker in the chair of sacred rhetoric, when Tucker went to the presidency of Dartmouth in 1893. Sadness and disappointment came with his death when he had but commenced his service, but his memory was preserved in his sermons, poems, and printed inaugural. In 1896 thirty-three students asked for a special course of instruction in foreign missions, preferably from Dr. C. C. Torrey, a request which the Trustees granted. Torrey had been an Andover Fellow, had studied abroad, and at the time was an instructor in Semitic languages in the Seminary. Later he was the Taylor professor of biblical history for a year and then went to Yale, as Moore went to Harvard. The two men were close friends and during their summer vacations enjoyed roughing it together in and about their log cabin on the slope of Mount Adams in northern New Hampshire.

Dr. Owen A. Gates came to the Old Testament department of instruction, served for years as secretary of the Faculty, and succeeded Ropes as librarian. William R. Arnold was inducted into the professorship of the Hebrew language and literature in 1903, and remained until Seminary exercises were suspended in 1926. Dr. Charles O. Day became professor of practical theology in 1901, and was made president of the Faculty. He had the difficult task of holding the school together in a period of decline, and gallantly stayed at his post when he might have gone to college presidencies elsewhere. He was active in denominational affairs, trying to keep the Seminary in contact with the churches. He was cherished by his colleagues and was popular among the boys of the Academy, so that they gave him the rare honor of stopping at his house for a speech after they had won an

athletic victory. It was Professor Day who in 1902 announced the beginnings of the conferences with Harvard over the project of removal to Cambridge. Professor John W. Platner came from the Harvard Divinity School to teach history in 1901. He made his largest contribution to the Seminary after the transfer to Cambridge.

Thus the Seminary prepared itself to enter upon the twentieth century, proud of its long past and hoping for an assured future.

CHAPTER IX

LIBERTY AND UNION

AGAIN it is Commencement Week on Andover Hill. No longer do the Anniversaries come in late midsummer, when harvest is ripening to its fruitage, but in June when the year feels the strength of its youth and faces the demands of its maturity confident in its virile powers. At such a time it is well that young men should leave the shelter of the training school and venture forth to try their strength and skill. And what more beautiful setting for Commencement than an elm-shaded campus in a New England village, redolent with historic memories and steeped in an atmosphere that has been laden with the breath of culture for more than one hundred years.

The Commencement program in 1905 brought the baccalaureate sermon, the public examinations, and the annual meeting of the Society of Inquiry, with an ordination service as an extra on Monday evening. The alumni held their business session on Wednesday. The alumni of a school have the advantage over either Faculty or Trustees of viewing a situation against the background of their undergraduate experiences and in the perspective of years of active ministry. They are inclined to indulge in criticism, though they mean it to be constructive. At Andover they were no exception. At their meeting they discussed the attitude of educated men towards the ministry, and resolved that the executive committee of the Alumni Association should send a communication to all the members, urging them and the churches to see that young men through the influence of pulpit and prayer meeting may become sensitive to a spiritual call. The men sat down together at supper in Bartlet Chapel, and afterward came the formal exhibition of two collections recently installed in the

Museum. One was the Palestine Collection, obtained through the activity of Professor John Phelps Taylor and bearing his name, the other the missionary collection, which was a memorial to Dr. Daniel T. Fiske, a president of the Trustees for a term of years. Appropriate addresses were made and the rooms were opened for inspection. Thursday brought the exercises of the graduating class, followed by the alumni dinner, with nearly one hundred persons sharing in the fellowship and enjoying the postprandial toasts.

The year had brought changes in the Faculty. Professor Smyth had passed on, and Professor Platner had become Brown professor of ecclesiastical history, specializing for the year on the history of doctrine; Reverend William W. Rockwell was teaching in the same department. Professor Arnold had fitted into the Old Testament department, and had the assistance of Dr. Gates. President Day, Professor Hincks, now senior professor, and Professor Ryder continued their several responsibilities. New names were among the lecturers of the year. Dr. William H. Hocking of Harvard presented the religious aspects of modern philosophy and a second course on the history of religions. Dr. Robert A. Hume of India in the Hyde lectures discussed missions from the modern point of view, and showed their relation to psychology and sociology. Professor John B. Clark of Columbia delivered the Southworth lectures on the modern economic problems of agriculture, industry, and government monopoly. Nor was the old concern for musical instruction permitted to lapse. Courses in the theory and practice of church music and practical instruction in singing stimulated an appreciation in the students of the part that music properly plays in worship.

Those who had the best interests of the Seminary at heart were disturbed over the small number of students, and it was felt that a larger use should be made of the facilities of the Seminary. It was this in part that had prompted the Easter Theological School, which had been held in the spring of 1903 and again the next year. Forty-two home missionary pastors in Massachusetts and other parts of New England listened to lectures from the Faculty and joined in discussing

the subjects presented, and enjoyed the fellowship of the ten days' session. For recreation they walked about the town and country and took trolley rides in the vicinity. They enjoyed the baseball games of the Academy students on the new athletic field and admired the new gymnasium, used by both Academy and Seminary students. They strolled through the Museum and looked over the most recent displays. In the evenings they listened to addresses on social and practical matters, sang with Mr. Burdett and prayed with Dr. Emrich. Then they went home to put into practice the new ideas which had been given to them.

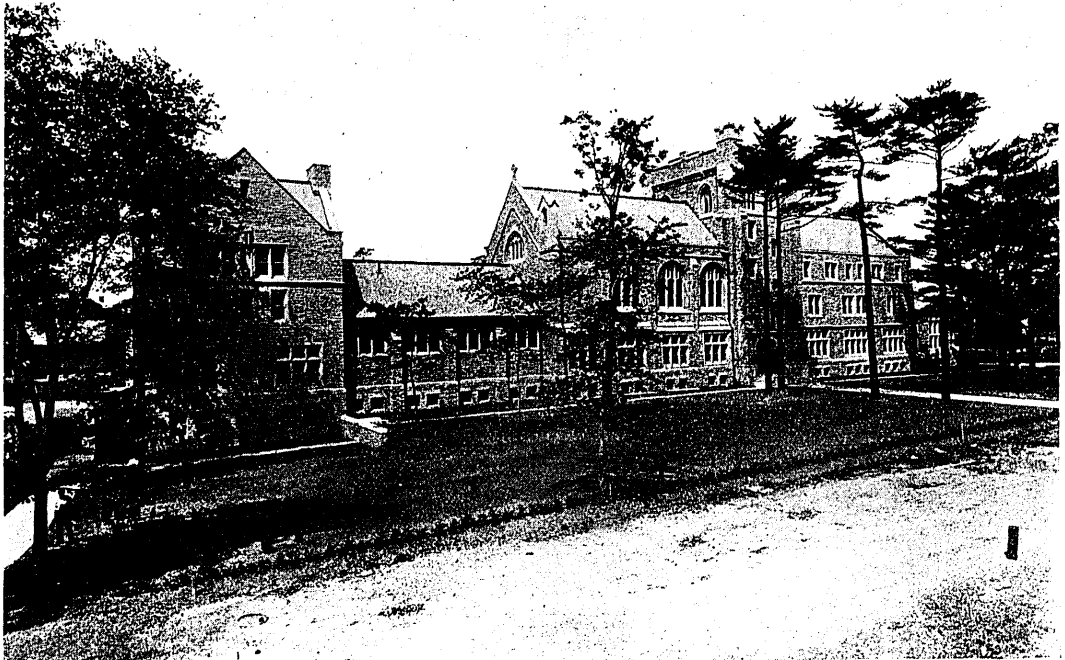
The question that was uppermost in the minds of the alumni and friends of the Seminary as the Commencement of 1906 approached was the future of the school. Since the new century opened the conviction had been growing that something more was necessary than to hope for the rejuvenation of the old school. The controversy of twenty years earlier had weakened the Seminary seriously. The new temper of the age which was finding in life rather than in theology the best expression of religion, was impatient with outworn creeds and doubtful of the value of institutions that were based on such creeds. Particularly were college men shy about connecting themselves with a school that had a reputation for theological difficulties and still required its Faculty to give lip service to ancient symbols. Recovery from the theological depression had been discouragingly slow. It began to seem as if the school might not live much longer unless something radical was attempted.

The alumni were divided in their opinions as to what should be done. The more conservatively minded thought that new life might be injected into the old school with new men on the Faculty, that more students might be secured now that the buildings had been modernized, and that more money would make possible greater expansion. They saw the value of the quiet surroundings of the Seminary for the studious, and believed that with improving means of communication the school was near enough to the urban centers. It was suggested that perhaps the Seminary might widen the scope of

its helpfulness by doing more for foreigners in Massachusetts. Four years before a meeting of alumni in Boston had voted unanimously that the Seminary should be kept in Andover, had expressed confidence in the Faculty, had pledged their efforts to secure money and good will for the institution, and had appointed a committee to present their resolutions to the Trustees.

The Trustees were alive to the situation. They saw that Andover had suffered in competition with seminaries that had their location in a city or had university connections. They knew the pull of urban life for modern youth. In spite of the unfriendly relations of long ago between Andover and Harvard, the authorities had been in consultation with the University looking towards a possible affiliation. They recognized the changes that had taken place in Congregational thought, and they had no fear that the liberal atmosphere of the Harvard Divinity School would weaken the confidence of Andover men in their evangelical faith. President Eliot and the Harvard Corporation met the Andover Trustees halfway, and prepared a plan of agreement with which the Trustees as a whole were in accord. The Trustees passed a vote to the effect that "the period has arrived when the prosperity of the Theological Seminary will be promoted by its removal from Andover if satisfactory arrangements can be made for its establishment elsewhere." A special committee appointed to present a plan for removal reported, however, that no feasible plan appeared. The attitude of the Alumni was known to be unfriendly.

Now in 1906 the matter of the removal came to the front again. In April the Trustees had voted unanimously that the time had come when it was best to make the affiliation with Harvard, as soon as the legality of the action could be determined and the necessary arrangements could be made. It was important that the Andover professors should be related officially to the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, and that a new building should be erected. The Alumni Association of Andover appointed a committee of conference to obtain the opinions of the graduates of the school. Commencement



ANDOVER HALL IN CAMBRIDGE

passed before any adjustment was made, but the negotiations continued. It had been felt for some time in the Seminary that a board of trustees which should be separate and different from the governing body of the Academy was very desirable, especially if the Seminary was to be removed from the vicinity of the Academy. The permission of the Massachusetts Legislature was necessary, and pending such permission the negotiators marked time.

In 1907 the Trustees petitioned the Legislature for an act constituting the persons who were then members of the corporation of the Trustees of Phillips Academy a separate corporation under the name of the Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, with authority to receive the property theretofore held by the Trustees of Phillips Academy for the benefit of the Theological Institution. In April, 1907, the Legislature accordingly incorporated the persons then constituting the Trustees of Phillips Academy as the Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, to be governed by all the provisions and regulations as to organization, membership, etc., by which the Trustees of Phillips Academy were governed, and to hold all the property then held by the Academy Trustees for the benefit of the Seminary "subject to all trusts and conditions upon which the property had been held by the Trustees of Phillips Academy." Upon the establishment of the new corporation the Trustees of Phillips Academy transferred to it the land and buildings occupied by the Seminary, together with all invested funds held for the benefit of the Seminary. Most of those who were trustees of Phillips Academy when the act of 1907 was passed and who under the act became the first trustees of Andover Theological Seminary resigned and their places were taken by men who were primarily interested in the Seminary, thus recognizing the fact that the Academy and the Seminary had grown apart and that one governing body was no longer suitable.

Meantime the conference committee reported its findings regarding the sentiments and opinions of the Andover Alumni. It was clear that there was a general agreement that something should be done about the Seminary. The decline in

attendance had been continuous since the Spanish-American War. There was now about an equal number of professors and students. Loyal as the alumni were and grateful for what the school had done for them, they felt that something was wrong, and they expressed it in various vigorous phrases. But they did not want the Seminary to die, and they were fertile in suggestions.

The general sentiment was against removal. Nearly half of the three hundred and fifty or more who had voted their preference believed it best that the Seminary should remain on Andover Hill. They felt that old associations and the traditions of a hundred years were too precious to be sacrificed. They believed that the institution was obliged to consider the wishes of the Congregational churches, and that the funds ought not to be used in a way that would be contrary to the wishes of the founders. About one-third of the alumni favored the removal to Cambridge, but the majority while recognizing the catholic spirit in which the affairs of the University were administered and the gains to both Andover and the Harvard Divinity School by a union of forces, felt that it would be a mistake. It seemed doubtful if the critical, philosophical spirit would contribute to the making of pastors and missionaries, yet that had been the ruling purpose of the Seminary. They feared the possibility of litigation over the removal. They felt that the small number of students at the Harvard Divinity School over a period of twenty-five years did not give much encouragement for an increase in attendance near the University. The decline of interest of students in the colleges regarding the ministry as a profession was by no means limited to the Andover constituency. One man said: "An empty seminary is as well off at Andover as at Cambridge." There were not a few who remembered that until about 1880 the old suspicion of Harvard was so strong that few Congregational students for the ministry were enrolled there. After the Advanced Class was abolished at Andover in 1894 it seemed more likely that the opportunities for advanced study at Harvard would make their appeal, but even then the response was small. Andover alumni doubted, there-

fore, whether any particular advantage would come from the Harvard connection.

Minority proposals favored removal to Boston, where the school might become a training center for ministers to the foreign population; to Worcester, Springfield, or Northfield, in Massachusetts; to a union with Amherst or Williams or Boston University, or with Hartford or Chicago Seminaries. Some thought it would be best if the Seminary would devote its attention to training missionaries for foreign service. Altogether there was a striking lack of unity. The "conference committee" itself divided three to two, the majority favoring the Andover location, the minority sympathetic with the Harvard affiliation. All agreed that the school must broaden its ministry, and if possible do more for the training of leaders for New Americans; the plan for removal suggested such work for the city of Cambridge.

It was thought that the adverse report of the body of the alumni might check the proceedings of the Trustees, but they saw advantages in the plan which offset the objections that were made. It was expected that the Seminary would have increased facilities, that the Faculty would be given equal standing with the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, and that Andover would retain its full independence. It would be possible to have a plant that would house the library adequately and that would be modern in every way. Most important of all was the opportunity to acquaint the students with the values in psychology, sociology, and ethics, and other sciences of recent development, which could not be provided at Andover with the limited resources of the Seminary. The social passion, which had been felt at Andover and had led to the foundation of Andover House as a social settlement in Boston, could be fostered and guided in the new environment. The Trustees recognized in Cambridge the historic shrine of education in America. The University enjoyed freedom of thought and discussion. It could furnish the highest type of intellectual culture along with the theological discipline. And that was a Congregational tradition.

There were of course difficulties to be surmounted. It would

cost more to buy land near the University and to construct such a building as would house all the equipment of the Seminary. The sale of the old buildings at Andover to the Academy would not pay the expense. The salaries of professors must be raised to the minimum paid to Harvard professors, if their standing were not to suffer. Harvard students paid tuition and Andover students must be adjusted to that situation without transgressing the injunction against the charging of tuition laid upon the Trustees by some of the donors. Finally there was the question arising from the provision in the Constitution of Phillips Academy to the effect that the Academy—and so the Seminary as originally a department of the Academy—should never be removed from the South Parish in the Town of Andover "unless the good of mankind shall manifestly require it." It was a debatable question whether the good of mankind required an affiliation with the divinity school of a University which had alienated the Congregationalists of Massachusetts a hundred years before. It was a delicate situation.

Before the hundredth anniversary arrived in 1908 the Trustees adopted definitely the act of affiliation. The President and Fellows of Harvard officially approved and the Overseers ratified the action. The Trustees of Andover then voted finally for the removal on the twelfth of March, 1908. The reasons which they gave for their action were the falling off in attendance, amounting to practical desertion, the consequent unproductive use of the funds, the narrow field of usefulness offered to the professors, the rural location at a time when students needed city connections, and the lack of resources for the expansion of the curriculum. Under the Act of Incorporation the Trustees had no power to remove the Seminary to a place outside of Massachusetts, so that various proposals for removal to places in other states were impracticable. Cambridge had the advantage of being near Boston and the center of Congregationalism, and it was in the same geographical area as Andover. The affiliation with Harvard would not require change in charter, constitution, or organization of the Seminary. More courses of study would be avail-

able. Andover courses were to be accepted for Harvard degrees, so that the Seminary would have equal standing. It was believed that the presence of Andover Seminary would be of religious benefit to Harvard, and that the relation with Harvard would dignify the calling of the ministry in the eyes of educated young men. The Harvard arrangement could be terminated within two years if desired.

Andover people, as was natural, deeply regretted the decision. The secular press was generally favorable, but certain of the religious papers condemned it as a betrayal of the ancient trust to make an alliance with the University. The Toledo *Blade* in announcing the affiliation said: "Andover will become 'afflicted' with the Harvard Divinity School."

The Centennial anniversary was saddened by the threatened change. On Sunday morning the Seminary Church observed its last communion service in connection with the regular forenoon worship. At four o'clock in the afternoon the baccalaureate sermon was preached to the senior class. Monday evening brought the ninety-seventh anniversary of the Society of Inquiry, the only one of the old student organizations that remained. Mr. Edward C. Carter, Y. M. C. A. secretary from India, spoke to the assembled company on the work of the Association in the Far East. The alumni assembled for class reunions at noon, conscious that this was the last time that they would return to Andover Hill to walk again the old paths and exchange memories of Seminary experiences. At three o'clock Centennial addresses were given in honor of the alumni of the hundred years. Dr. Franklin Carter, formerly president of Williams College, recounted Andover's service to education. Reverend George H. Gutterson called to mind Andover's contributions to home missions in America, and Dr. DeWitt S. Clark summarized the memorable work of Andover's sons in the foreign mission field. The alumni and friends enjoyed a reception and supper in Bartlet Chapel, and in the evening Professor Platner gave the Southworth lecture on the "History of Andover Seminary, a Centennial Retrospect." If the Seminary had closed its doors at the end of its centenary, its future would stand

secure in the achievements of a century. For a hundred years the Trustees had guided the fortunes of the school according to the best wisdom that they possessed. The Faculty had interpreted religious truth, as they had vowed to do, according to the best light that God should give. Class after class of students had come to drink of the living water of the Gospel, and had gone out to carry that Gospel to thirsty souls in all parts of the world. Andover's influence as a religious force would not cease as long as Christianity survived. But the Seminary was neither dead nor dying.

President Day presided at the Wednesday celebration of the whole Seminary. The principal address of the week was the oration by President George Harris of Amherst. He recalled the salient features in the history of the Seminary during the century, spoke appreciatively of the men who had given the wealth of their learning and Christian sympathy from the chairs of instruction, and interpreted the changing thought of changing times. Greetings were brought with congratulations from representatives of many educational institutions. Particularly appropriate was it that Professor Benjamin W. Bacon should speak for Yale, for his grandfather had made the historical address fifty years before, and that Professor William Adams Brown should represent Union Seminary, because three generations of his ancestors had studied at Andover. Professor Merriam of Hartford declared: "Old Andover challenges New Andover to loftiest achievement if it would match the past." The venerable Dr. Alexander Mackenzie commended the ancient institution to God in prayer. Music was provided by a chorus composed of Seminary, Phillips Academy, and Abbot Academy students. It seemed as if the thoughts and interests of the Congregationalists of New England converged on this mother of seminaries.

Good cheer came with the dinner in the Borden Gymnasium, to which ladies were invited for the first time in the history of the school. Andover alumni could not get together in the Centennial year without making the occasion one of good cheer. "If there is a profession given to extreme sociability

in its interviews it is the ministry," wrote Sarah Stuart Robbins. "After the saying of grace, always solemn with the sudden hush of voices and the cessation of the click of china, a more hearty and cordial *abandon* could not be found anywhere among any class of people than used for an hour to fill the various rooms." Dr. Harris, presiding at the Centennial dinner, spoke in humorous vein, saying: "I hope there will be a chapter written on the one hundred dinners which have been enjoyed at the anniversaries of the Seminary."

With Thursday came the exercises of the graduating class in the Seminary Chapel with an address by Professor Arnold and the conferring of degrees. Once more a class went forth to minister by the highways and the byways, perhaps to add to the honor list of twenty-three college presidents, thirty college professors, and eighteen seminary professors, who had graduated since the Semi-centennial. The Centennial Class—that would be its distinction. Would there be a bicentennial to celebrate a hundred years hence?

Andover Seminary opened its second century at Cambridge in the autumn of 1908. The Faculty was short-handed because President Day had retired after futile efforts to stem the decline of the school. One or two of the Faculty had moved from Andover, but others continued to reside there and commute. Professor Platner acted temporarily as chairman of the Faculty with the title of "dean." Lecturers were appointed for the year until new professors should be elected. Temporarily the students shared the lecture rooms and dormitories of the Harvard Divinity School. The Harvard welcome was cordial, and the affiliation was marked appropriately by public recognition. Not as strangers or even as guests were they treated, but as one body working together for a single end. Andover professors were given the freedom of the University, and at the opening service of the Divinity year an Andover professor was invited to make the address. Andover reciprocated the Harvard courtesies. In the Andover catalogue Harvard courses were listed as well as those of the Andover Faculty. The two schools together had only twenty-four students. Andover was making the new start with two

graduate students, one middler, one junior, and one special, but she was planning in hope of better days.

In the course of the year the vacancies in the Faculty were filled. Reverend Albert Parker Fitch, the pastor of the Mount Vernon Congregational Church in Boston, was chosen as Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and President of the Faculty. Reverend Daniel Evans, who was pastor at North Cambridge, was elected Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, to succeed Professor Hincks, who had filled that position as well as the chair of biblical theology since the resignation of Professor Harris. Professor Fitch had graduated with high honors from Harvard and Union Theological Seminary; he was full of energy as well as ability; and he tried hard to strengthen the Seminary. He believed that there was a great opportunity to build up in Cambridge a school which should serve the cause of spiritual freedom and the development of the free churches. He declared that his primary interest was that the students should become deeply religious men. Professor Evans in his inaugural referred to a new idealism in the field of science and believed that the currents of thought, converging on Cambridge, promised a new day for religion. In commenting on the appointments the Boston *Transcript* remarked that the new professors were "not broken down old men in search of a comfortable haven where they can beach their dismantled ministerial crafts and rest in peace for the remainder of their days." Both were men of high standing in their profession and well-known in Greater Boston. President Fitch was sent to Geneva to represent the Seminary at the observance of the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth. A general catalogue containing complete alumni records for the century was published, edited by Reverend C. C. Carpenter.

The eight years of President Fitch's administration were marked by a growth in student attendance and by plans of expansion. The Seminary entered upon its second year in Cambridge with twelve students; in two years the number doubled, and the next year thirty-four were enrolled. There was a considerable sprinkling of men from the Near and the

Far East. The seminaries were considering the question of making Hebrew an elective study and the Andover Faculty discussed it, finally reaching the conclusion that the newer tendency was inevitable with the enlarged scope of the theological curriculum. It was ruled that to qualify for graduation a student must have studied the History of Israel, Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, the Theology of the New Testament, Outlines of Church History, Systematic Theology, the Office of the Ministry, and the Art of Preaching.

The completion of Andover Hall and its dedication in 1911 provided the physical equipment needed for the school. Architecturally beautiful and dignified in appearance, with ample quarters for the joint Andover Harvard library, and with commodious classrooms, chapel, and dormitory accommodations, the building seemed well worth the $300,000 that it cost. It was hoped that funds might be secured to endow two new chairs of instruction, one in the history of religion and missions, the other in practical theology, including religious education. Affiliation was established with the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge, which added the facilities of that school by a reciprocal arrangement similar to that with Harvard. As a gesture of good will this was matched by a telegram of congratulations to the new Andover from a group of thirty alumni meeting with the National Council in Kansas City.

The Society of Inquiry reached its one hundredth anniversary, maintaining its organization in the new environment. John R. Mott was Hyde lecturer, speaking on "Forces To Be Used in the World's Evangelization." Professor Platner was commissioned to visit the mission stations on a projected vacation tour, carrying the greetings of the Seminary. The Society of Inquiry, realizing that missionary effort in all parts of the world was one enterprise, interested itself in the home missionary problem of New England, and in connection with a meeting of the Easter Theological School sent out a communication to all its former members calling to prayer for the mission to immigrants in the cities and for the humble rural parishes of the hill country.

President Fitch resigned his position in 1917. His coming had infused new life into the school, had attracted students, and through his college preaching had enlarged the scope of Andover's influence. As a Harvard alumnus he was interested in the affiliation of the two schools. But the future of theological education at Cambridge was problematical. The World War was a disturbing element, and applications from new students diminished. With all the advantages of the new building, ample library facilities, and the prestige of Harvard, Andover did not seem to move forward as had been anticipated. Only one student graduated in 1918, and the total enrollment was reduced to thirteen. The decade since the Centennial had left the number of students at about the same point as before. Financial stringency was a further handicap.

Professor Platner became acting president, and Dr. Raymond Calkins of Cambridge was appointed in Fitch's place as lecturer on preaching for the year. In 1919 Professor Platner was elected the permanent head of the Faculty, being given at his request the title of "dean" rather than that of "president." Professor Hincks completed thirty-four years on the Faculty, and retired from active service, and Professor Ryder died suddenly, so that again the number of the Faculty was depleted seriously. The Faculty discussed the possibility of a combination of theological schools of Greater Boston during the next year for the sake of economy and on account of the general depletion of numbers, and they gave general approval to such a plan, recommending it to the Trustees.

The retirement of Professor Hincks and the death of Professor Ryder added to the difficulties of the Seminary. Hincks was the link with the old order of things at Andover. He had been through the controversy over the New Theology, had taken part in the publication of the *Andover Review,* and had been on trial for his opinions. Through thirty-four years of service he had helped to carry the administrative burdens as well as his share of the teaching. His colleagues esteemed him as "exhibiting in happy combination the free spirit of the scholar and humanist, and the unobtrusive religious devotion of the Christian minister." He did not lament the removal

to Cambridge, though his affection for the old was strong, and he retained his Andover residence for some time.

Professor Ryder died at Andover after a brief illness in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Not so conspicuous because he came to Andover too late to be involved in the conflict of ideas of the period of greatest disturbance and because of his native modesty, he enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues and the affection of the students for almost thirty years. As a teacher of the New Testament he had to face the problems of biblical criticism, and he did it frankly and fearlessly, but with such deep religious appreciation of Scripture and with such ample scholarship that he was freed from the charge of heresy which for a time had rested upon him.

To fill the vacancies that had come Reverend Willard L. Sperry, minister of the Central Congregational Church, Boston, was invited to become Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, and Professor Henry J. Cadbury of Haverford College, a graduate of Andover in 1909, was secured as lecturer on the New Testament. Since Dr. Sperry retained his parish duties in Boston for a time, he could give only a limited amount of service to Andover, but his association with the school was an element of strength from the beginning. In the fall of 1920 sixteen students were in attendance. Letters were received from Australia, asking that arrangements might be made for granting Andover degrees to students from that part of the world, an evidence that the fame of Andover was wide and lasting. The question of admitting women to study in the school was a subject of discussion, but no action followed.

Death again took its toll of the Faculty in 1921. After prolonged ill health Professor Platner passed to his reward. He was still on the sunny side of sixty, but as Brown professor of ecclesiastical history, and later as dean, he had rendered worthy service to the Seminary. Trained thoroughly at home and abroad, he was equipped in scholarship; he was a preacher much sought by the churches, and more than once was invited to assume the pastorate of a church. The Faculty testified of him that he was as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land during twenty years of vicissitudes. "The service of his life

was greater than his teaching or administration; his daily contact with his students and his colleagues revealed the fine qualities of his character. He was gentle in his manner, unselfish in his relation to others, sympathetic with them in their difficulties, interested in their pursuits, and always at their service. He lived amongst us as a scholar, a gentleman, and a Christian."

It was then that Dr. Sperry was brought into full relation with the educational work in Cambridge. He was made president of the Faculty of Andover Theological Seminary, and the Harvard Corporation announced his election as "Professor of Homiletics and Dean of the Theological School in Harvard University." The affiliation between the two institutions had worked sufficiently well to justify a closer relationship. The demands of the Government for the use of Divinity Hall during the World War had hastened this development. Under a "Plan of Closer Affiliation" adopted by the Trustees and by the President and Fellows of Harvard College respectively, in May, 1922, it was provided that the two corporations should join to form a non-denominational theological school with single faculty, roll of students, administration and catalogue, the name of the school to be "The Theological School in Harvard University." Degrees were to be conferred by Harvard upon students of the school on recommendation of the Faculty, but the Trustees reserved the right in their discretion to grant Andover degrees to Andover students, this term including the holders of Andover scholarships and fellowships and any other persons qualified and desiring to be such. The Andover professors—Evans, Arnold, and Cadbury—were adopted by the University. But scarcely had the arrangement been made before it was disrupted by legal proceedings.

The removal to Cambridge had not escaped legal complications in 1908. Certain alumni unfriendly to the change preferred objections before the Visitors, but the Visitors declined to hold that the removal was contrary to the intention of the Founders. Immediately after the Plan of Closer Affiliation was adopted, however, the Visitors, whose personnel had meanwhile changed, passed a resolution declaring the

plan void. This action raised many legal questions which were the subject of protracted proceedings in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Hearings were held before Fred T. Field, Esquire, (now a Justice of that Court) as master. His report was to the effect that in view of the limited income and other circumstances it was impracticable for Andover to be maintained as an unaffiliated institution. He further found that for many years prior to the beginning of the proceedings the Visitors, in passing upon the suitability of men elected by the Trustees to professorships, had treated the various creedal requirements as satisfied if the professor-elect was found to stand with respect to his doctrinal views in the historical succession of New England Trinitarian Congregationalism and had deemed immaterial an inability to accept particular propositions in the Creed or in the Catechism. With respect to the Plan of Closer Affiliation the master's finding was as follows:

"I find that, apart from doctrinal or creedal requirements, the Plan of Closer Affiliation fulfills, as nearly as is possible under the existing conditions, the purposes for which Andover Seminary was founded. I further find that if the purposes for which the Seminary was founded, so far as such purposes involve doctrinal or creedal requirements, are fulfilled if instruction in the field of theological studies in which doctrinal questions are involved is in the historical succession of New England Trinitarian Congregationalism, the Plan of Closer Affiliation fulfills with respect to Andover students as nearly as possible under existing conditions the purposes for which Andover Seminary was founded."

The Court, however, held that the language of the original Constitution, Associate Statutes, and other fundamental documents was so unequivocal that no relaxed interpretation was permissible, even though, as the master found, it had become impossible for any theological scholar of standing to subscribe to the Creed if literally interpreted. While the actual decision (which was rendered in September, 1925) did not go further than to set aside the Plan of Closer Affiliation, it was apparent that it was useless, either with or without any affiliation, to attempt to keep the Seminary open, so long as it should

be subject to the creedal requirements as construed by the Court.

Apparently nothing remained for Andover Seminary but to close its doors. For the remainder of the academic year 1925-1926 the Seminary was conducted under the original Plan of Affiliation adopted in 1908, which was not directly affected by the decision. By concurrent action of the Trustees and of the Harvard Corporation this plan was then abrogated. The Faculty resigned, and the Trustees voted that instruction be suspended.

It was in a chastened frame of mind that friends and alumni contemplated the future. Must the school that had served so well the denomination and the Christian world die of strangulation? Was the noble purpose of the founders to educate a Congregational ministry to be defeated by the dead hand of outgrown dogma? The Court had suggested a possible method of liberation. By a decree in accordance with the liberal principle of *cy pres* the Court might remove the ancient restriction and make it possible for the old school to breathe again. The Trustees immediately entered upon a serious consideration of the feasibility of obtaining relief by this means. Many important questions, both of law and of policy, had to be taken into account before the Trustees felt justified in instituting further proceedings. In November, 1930, however, the Trustees filed in the Supreme Judicial Court a bill in equity, representing that it was impossible under existing conditions to execute in all respects the designs of the founders as interpreted in the previous decision, and that attempted conformity to the creedal requirements of the Constitution and Statutes as so interpreted would altogether defeat the primary object of the founders and subsequent donors, *i.e.*, the providing of learned, able and devout ministers for the Trinitarian Congregational churches, and would necessitate the permanent discontinuance of the Seminary. The bill therefore asked the Court to adjudge that persons whose theological views were in conformity with those obtaining among Trinitarian Congregationalists generally should thereafter be deemed qualified so far as concerned their doctrinal position

for professorships in the Seminary and that instruction given in the Seminary should not thereafter be called in question because of inconsistency with the creedal requirements of the Constitution and Statutes. The Board of Visitors (whose composition had undergone still another change) filed an answer in substance joining in the request of the Trustees. On April 10, 1931, the Court entered a decree reciting that it had become impossible to carry out the purposes of the founders and subsequent benefactors of the Seminary so long as the creedal requirements of the Constitution and Statutes were strictly enforced, and relieving the Trustees and the Visitors from the necessity of complying with these requirements except to the extent of seeing to it that the theological views held by the professors and by the members of the Board of Visitors are in conformity with those obtaining among Trinitarian Congregationalists generally.

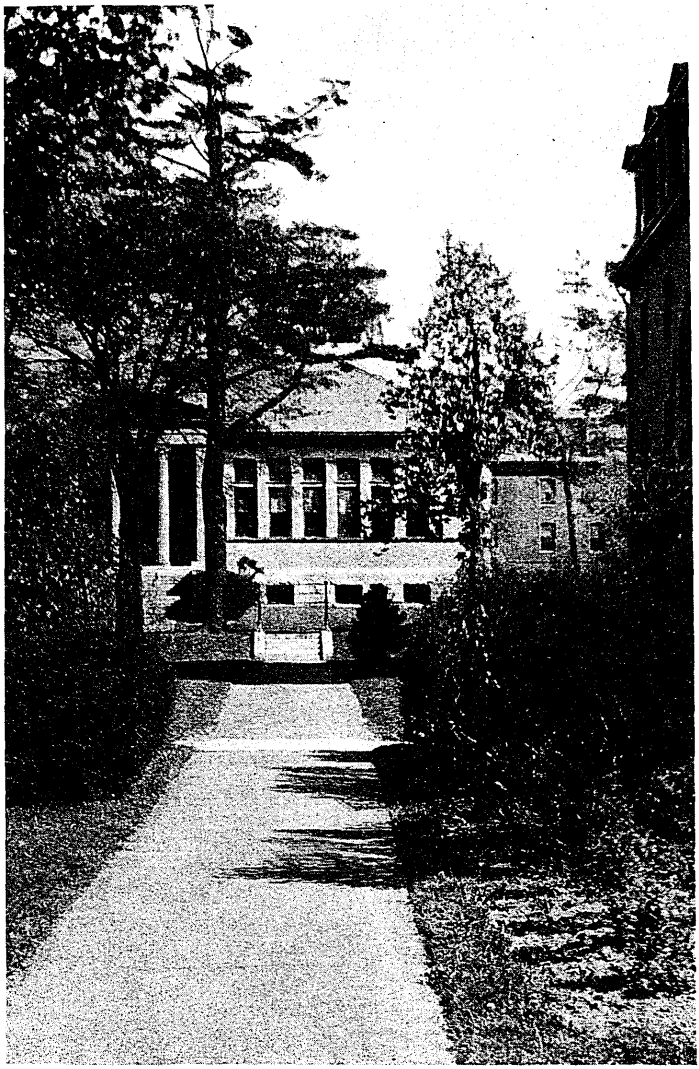
While the legal matters were under advisement, the future course of Andover Theological Seminary was under consideration. The terms of the charter required that the Seminary should remain in Massachusetts, a provision which eliminated the possibility of going West or South. The continual objection to the Harvard affiliation made resumption of the arrangement at Cambridge impracticable. Yet Andover lacked an endowment sufficient to continue instruction alone, and since the old buildings at Andover had been disposed of to the Academy in 1908, and Andover Hall in Cambridge was not available, the Seminary was in a dilemma.

There was one way out. A cordial invitation from Newton Theological Institution to join forces in a new affiliation was extended to the homeless school. It was a novel proposition to unite seminaries of different denominations. Newton was Baptist and Andover was Congregational. But interdenominational differences had grown less acute since the first professors were obligated to denounce "heresies and errors, ancient and modern," and there were many likenesses between the two seminaries. Both were evangelical in temper, having come into existence in the same period and under the same impulse. Andover dated from 1807, Newton from 1825.

The first Newton professors, Chase and Ripley, were Andover men, and they transplanted the ideas and methods of the older school. Each had a rich missionary heritage. Each had been represented on the home mission field and in the halls of educational institutions. Both had the same high standards of scholarship, the same theological outlook, the same interest in interpreting religion in terms of present as well as future life. Both rested on faith in the ultimate spiritual reality as against the secular spirit of the age. Together they might hope to become a strong force in the life of the time, and to show the way towards the closer coöperation of two great and friendly denominations. In January, 1930, the Trustees of Newton extended a formal invitation to Andover to enter into an affiliation. The Andover Trustees thereupon adopted a resolution declaring their desire to accept the invitation as soon as practicable. Upon the entry of the decree relaxing the creedal requirements, the Visitors voted to approve the Plan of Affiliation with Newton. The Trustees thereupon voted to remove the Seminary from Cambridge to Newton to the extent contemplated by the Plan of Affiliation and to accept the invitation of Newton to enter into that plan. It was further voted that undergraduate instruction in the Seminary be resumed in Newton at the beginning of the academic year 1931-32.

The mutual agreement provided resources sufficient for a strengthened Faculty. Professor Evans, whose resignation from the Andover Faculty had been held in abeyance by the Trustees, now withdrew the resignation at their request and resumed his duties as Abbot Professor of Christian Theology in coördination with the Newton department. Reverend Dwight Bradley became lecturer in pastoral problems and church worship, and Reverend A. Philip Guiles was added to the Faculty as the director of clinical training. In 1933 Professor Amos Niven Wilder of Union College was appointed to the chair of New Testament Interpretation.

Andover students found their way to another hill than the old, but no less consecrated by ancient traditions and precious memories. In the Newton buildings at Newton Centre, An-



HILLS LIBRARY AND FARWELL HALL IN NEWTON

dover men studied side by side with Newton men, and in the classrooms the professors made no distinction between them. The old Society of Inquiry of Andover was revived and the long history of the organization was recalled. Andover alumni fraternized with Newton alumni at Commencement, and trustees of both schools sat together at the Commencement dinner. Friendship with Harvard was by no means broken. Newton had relations of affiliation with Harvard which facilitated the special studies of advanced students at Cambridge, and Andover arranged with Harvard to continue for the present the maintenance of the joint library in Andover Hall. The short distance of seven miles from Newton to Cambridge made it easily accessible in motor days, and the same distance from Newton to Boston made convenient the cultural advantages of that city and opportunities for service.

The affiliation of the two schools was not a merger. Mindful of Andover's past experiences and of the possibility of readjustments, the seminaries adopted the principle of federation with freedom for either school to abrogate the joint arrangement, if it should be desired. All the procedure was carried out in the most cordial spirit and in anticipation of permanence. The instructors of the two schools under the Plan of Affiliation hold regular meetings as one body under the name of the "Faculty of the Andover Newton Theological School," separate meetings of the faculties of the two schools being held as occasion may require. The presiding officer at the joint meetings is the President of Newton, who has the title of "President of the Andover Newton Theological School." President Everett Carleton Herrick, D.D., LL.D., who had been president of Newton since 1926, thus became the first holder of the new title. He had added notably to the endowment of the Institution by tireless efforts, and had enriched the school with new friends. The attendance was increasing materially, and the students were loyal to president and seminary in spirit and conduct. Dr. Herrick made the affiliation possible by his cordial spirit and patient wisdom. There was the friendliest feeling for the affiliation among the Trustees and Faculty of the Institution. To facilitate the

working of the joint arrangement an administrative committee of five from each board of trustees was appointed.

The Trustees of Andover elected Reverend Vaughan Dabney, D.D., the minister of the Second Church in Dorchester, as Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and President of the Andover Faculty. The Plan of Affiliation provides that "The President of the Andover Faculty shall have the title 'Dean of the Andover Newton Theological School,'" so Dr. Dabney became the first holder of this title. Dr. Dabney was Kentucky bred and received his theological education at Chicago Theological Seminary and as graduate fellow at Andover in 1912-14. He had had pastoral experience both East and West, and his election was hailed as a most suitable one. He was inaugurated on the seventh of January, 1932, in the First Church of Newton amid the congratulations of friends of both institutions and representatives from other schools of learning. He was inducted into office by Dr. Arthur S. Pease, President of Amherst College, a trustee of the Seminary and son of a former Bartlet professor at Andover, and the program included addresses by Justice Fred T. Field, president of the Newton Trustees, President Ernest N. Hopkins of Dartmouth, and Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. Music was furnished by the chapel choir of the Seminary, led by an Andover student. In his inaugural address Dr. Dabney interpreted the alliance of Andover and Newton as meaning: first, the continuity of ancient traditions of scholarship, missionary zeal, and spiritual fervor; second, coöperation as the hope of a richer future; and third, creative accomplishment in the field of religion, so as to feed hungry souls and better to interpret the Master to human society.

Andover students who came to Institution Hill at Newton Centre in the fall of 1932 found a busy student body of one hundred and fifty undergraduates, representing thirty different states of the Union and twelve foreign countries. Eighty Baptist and Congregational churches were being served by students as pastors' assistants. Deputation teams went to the churches for evangelistic purposes, and city missions were

visited regularly in Boston. The Seminary enjoyed radio broadcasting privileges for religious messages at a neighboring station. Herrick House, a new dormitory erected during the summer, provided modern accommodations for married students, and Chase House supplied living quarters for women who were studying in the department of religious education. Lectures on the Hyde Foundation were on the point of resumption, and Professor Hocking of Harvard soon set a new pace with his contribution to re-thinking missions. The Southworth lectures of Andover supplemented the Greene, Duncan, and English foundations of Newton. And there on the hilltop of forty acres men and women took time for spiritual retreat as well as for intellectual and social activities.

With the approach of Andover's one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary faith is strong that the school of the prophets formed long ago by the alliance of two groups of Congregationalists will find more abundant life in federation with a school of similar tradition, though of another denomination. They are loyal to the same God and His Son, Jesus Christ. Theirs is the same evangelical faith, the same congregational polity. Theirs are the same educational ideals, theirs the same goal of a social order transformed into the Kingdom of God. The vision of the world's need is glimpsed from Institution Hill in Newton as it was from Andover Hill. And what matters it, said Dr. Dabney in his inaugural, "if the ark of Andover has finally landed on the Ararat of Newton Hill? Progressive theological schools no longer wear sectarian labels. What a challenge is ours at Andover Newton to add a thrilling chapter to the history of the Christian Church, a history too full of wasteful competition and schism."

On the back of the President's chair in the Convention hall at Philadelphia in 1787 was painted the picture of a half-submerged sun. When the Constitution of the new nation had been adopted, Benjamin Franklin, turning to several persons who stood near him, remarked: "I have often in the course of this session looked at the sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and

not a setting sun." During the vicissitudes of the last quarter of a century the sons of Andover may have felt a similar uncertainty, but on this one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary they may feel confident that Andover's glory did not vanish with the fading glow of a sunset over the Shawsheen valley, but that the pioneer seminary of New England, with its windows open toward the east, greets a new and greater day from Newton Hill.

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